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ANNALS

OF THE FIRST FOUR YEARS OF THE REIGN OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH,

BY SIR JOHN HAYWARD, KNT. D.C.L.

EDITED FROM A MS. IN THE HARLEIAN COLLECTION,

BY JOHN BRUCE, ESQ. F.S.A.

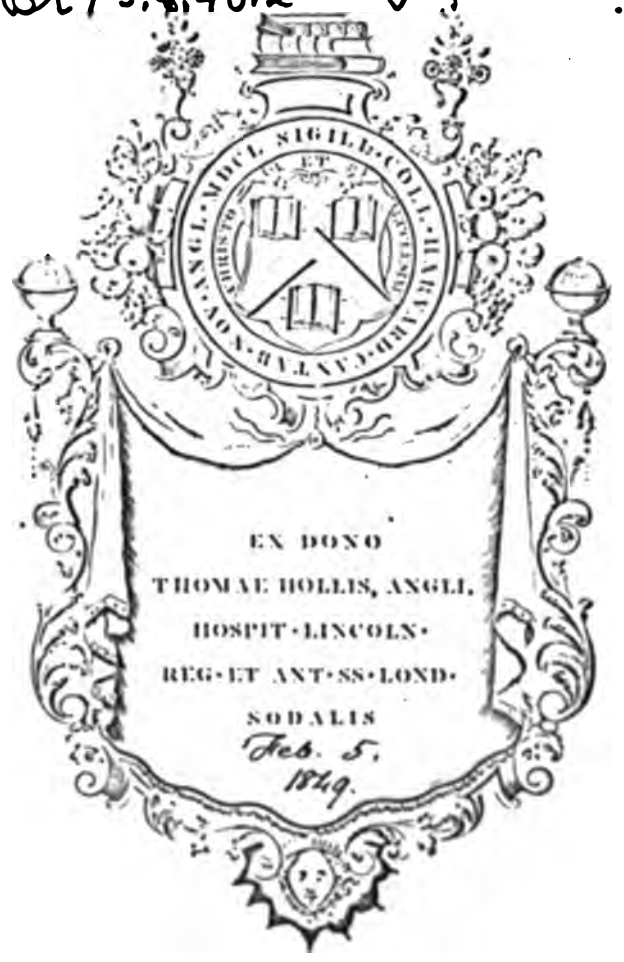


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INTRODUCTION.

WHEN some future Hallam, or, I would rather say, when Mr. Hallam, in some future edition of his History of European Literature, shall have bestowed a critical attention upon the works of our national historians, the author of the following Annals will be found to have occupied a prominent literary position.

Amongst the many consequences which followed upon the Introduction of Printing into England, one of the earliest was, that it made our history popular. Caxton's Chronicle effected, in that respect, a change which, half a century later, would have been the result of the dissolution of the monasteries. It withdrew History from the exclusive care of the Church, and taught her to speak the language, and appeal directly to the feelings, of the people.

But the vernacular chroniclers who succeeded the monastic writers of history, were little conscious of the importance of their task. They followed in the footsteps of the humblest of their predecessors, and seldom

aimed at any higher mark than that of being found faithful and diligent annalists. They were industrious collectors of facts, pains-taking chronologists, honest narrators, but, as a body, were totally devoid of that power of description which makes manifest the truth respecting past events in such manner as to render it conducive to the instruction of mankind.

In such hands History lost much of its usefulness and all its dignity, and greatly is it to be regretted that this depression of historical literature took place at a time when, in other departments of human knowledge, our intellectual strength was at its height; when Poetry shone with pre-eminent brilliancy, and the profoundest depths of Theology were investigated with an acuteness which has never been surpassed.

No doubt there were many men who saw and deplored the state of things upon which I am commenting, and there were, at any event, two who endeavoured to amend it—Camden and Hayward; united in their lives as the joint historiographers of King James's College at Chelsea, and now, after the lapse of two centuries, again brought together in name,—the one as the author of the following work, and the other as the patron of the Society by whom it is published. Camden and Hayward took, indeed, different paths, and I by no means seek to place them upon an equality; it is honour enough for Hay-

ward if it be allowed that both were well acquainted with the great classical models of historical composition, and wrote with minds imbued with a strong persuasion of their many excellent qualities, and an anxious desire to catch some portion of their spirit;* and that whilst Camden was setting forth in pure and simple Latin, his admirable *Britannia*, and his *Annales*, and was placing before the world some of the most valuable of the foundations of English History in his collection of Chronicles, Hayward was composing, in our own language, works which, notwithstanding their many defects, were of a higher character, and approached more nearly to a better description of historical writing, than any which had then been published.

But these remarks are premature, until I have given an outline of Hayward's biography. The rank or station of his parents, the place and time of his birth, have not been ascertained; but, judging from the few particulars which exist, we may infer that he was born shortly after 1560,

* Hayward's feeling of respect for the authors of antiquity is strongly expressed in the following passage in his "David's Teares:" —"The rich compositions of ancient times I reverence and admire; they do not only satisfie but astonish mee. I see them not to the depth, but I see them so farre, that I conceive the farthest reach of our age cannot neerely approach them. Of my own productions, never any did fully content mee, and the approbation of others is no warrant to my own judgment—tender and severe in what I doe."

at, or near, Felixstow, a small town on the sea-coast of Suffolk, not far from Land-guard Fort, and that his father was a man of no family,* but possessed, at his death, of some "lands and tenements," which he devised to his son. Hayward mentions in his will several of his relatives, and some of them as residents in that part of Suffolk; as "Ursula Revett, my sister," "James Revett, of Witlesham, my sister's sonne," "my halfe-brother, Mr. Thomas Brandston," "Ann Snell, of Wolverston, daughter to my half-sister;" and, in the same document, he disposes of all his "lands and tenements" in Felixstow to his grandaughter, and, in case of her death under age, directs that they shall descend "according to the purport of *his* father's will."

In his will he also states, that he received the means of his education from the parish of Felixstow, and, in return, he bequeathes to the poor of that parish "twentie pounds, to remaine as a stocke, and the profits thence ariseing to be converted to the use of the poore there

* There is a coat of arms—argent gutté, a fesse nebulé gules—in the right-hand upper corner of Hayward's engraved portrait, inserted in his Edward VI., edition 1630, but I have not been able to find any authority for rightly attributing those arms either to Hayward or any one else. They do not seem to have been recognised as belonging to Hayward by the College of Arms, for there is a blank shield in the place usually occupied by the arms in the Book which contains the certificate of his burial: vide *post*, p. xlvii.

for the tyme being." His education was completed at Cambridge, where he took the degree of Doctor in Civil Law.* From thence he removed to London, and practised as a pleader in the Ecclesiastical Courts.

He entered the world as an author at a time, and under circumstances, well calculated to secure public attention. It was near the close of the reign of Elizabeth, when the question of the succession to the throne and the intrigues of the Earl of Essex disquieted both court and country. That nobleman, whilst apparently belonging to the party which upheld the indefeasibleness of the succession, and the consequent right of the King of Scotland, was diligently seeking popularity, surrounding himself by a band of able, zealous, and not over-peaceable followers, and acting as if he entertained ambitious hopes of himself supplanting the various competitors. Appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, he embroiled the affairs of that country by mismanagement, and then, either acting upon a persuasion that his popularity would be a suffi-

* I state this fact upon the authority of all the biographical writers who have made mention of Hayward, with the addition, also, of Cole, the Cambridge Antiquary (Addit. MS. 5871); but I must add that Hayward's name does not occur in the transcript from the Register amongst the Baker MSS. (Harleian MS. 7038), and J. O. Halliwell, Esq. of Jesus College, having, very kindly, done me the favour to make a search at Cambridge, has not been able to find the date of Hayward's degree there.

cient protection for his person, or misled by that singular want of judgment which marred all his noble qualities, he excited universal astonishment by the sudden desertion of his government. Whilst in custody, preparatory to an investigation into his conduct, his numerous friends endeavoured to excite and maintain the popular feeling on his behalf. The conduct of the Queen's advisers, and, through them, that of the Queen herself, was made the subject of unsparing condemnation; defamatory libels against them were spread abroad on every side; whilst "loose idlers," remarks Camden, "wherever they came together, and even some clergymen in their pulpits, lauded Essex with most immoderate praise."* Hayward took part in these indiscreet and censurable proceedings by the publication† of his first work, being the commencement of a Life of Henry IV., dedicated to the Earl of Essex, in terms which are an ample specimen of the "*immodicæ laudes*" to which Camden alludes.

* "Homines male feriati Essexium ubique per circulos, et ministri quidam etiam è suggestu, immodicis laudibus extulerunt." Annales, ii. 185, edit. 1627.

† The work bears date in 1599, and was no doubt published after the 28th September in that year, the day of Essex's arrival at the palace of Nonesuch on his return from Ireland, as the very full enumeration of his titles does not include that of Lord Deputy of that country. The full title of this and of all Hayward's other works will be found in the Catalogue which I have appended to this Introduction.

The dedication commences with an ostentatious catalogue of Essex's various titles, which concludes with that of "*dominus meus plurimum observandus.*" He is then told that "*optimus et nobilissimus*" are appellations peculiarly his, and that if his name "*Henrici nostri fronte radiaret, ipse et lætior et tutior in vulgus prodiret;*" that he is "*magnus, et presenti judicio, et futuri temporis expectatione,*" and that if he would but deign to receive the present volume graciously, it would be safe under the shadow of his name—"*sub nominis tui umbra.*" It concludes—"*honori tuo deditissimus, I. Haywarde.*"

If from this dedication, couched in a style of almost royal flattery, we turn to the work itself, and observe that the principal events upon which it dwells are the misgovernment of a sovereign and his advisers; the unauthorised return to England of Henry of Lancaster; and the unbounded popularity by force of which he was borne onwards to the throne, it will be seen that the book was justly calculated to irritate, if not to alarm, Elizabeth. The author does not indeed attempt to vindicate Henry IV.—that would have been inconsistent both with his opinions and with the principles professed by the Essex party—he even puts into the mouth of Bishop Merks a long argument in favour of the divine right of hereditary succession, and enlarges upon the misery which arose out of the usurpation of the House of Lancaster; the

sting of the work is not in itself, but in the period of its publication. It was no doubt written before Essex's return, and does not, as far as I have observed, contain any allusion to passing events; but advantage was taken of the recurrence of incidents which had a Macedon-and-Monmouth sort of similarity to those of the opening of the fortunes of Henry IV., to hurry forth the book into the world, in the expectation that the attractiveness of the dedication, and the situation of public affairs, would conduce to its sale. If that advantage was gained, it was not without being dearly paid for; for the indiscretion of the publisher and the dedicator converted the book into a source of trouble both to the patron and the author. It was objected against Essex in the proceedings in the Star Chamber, and his friend Bacon was deputed by the council to set forth his undutiful carriage in giving occasion to that seditious pamphlet—"as it was termed"—Bacon significantly adds.* It was in some manner made matter of charge against Sir Gilly Merick, one of Essex's followers, who, having had the story of Richard II. thus pointedly brought to his notice, used it again to excite the people before the *dénouement* of the Essex conspiracy.† Hayward himself was committed to prison, and

* Works, vi. 265, Montagu's edition.

† He procured "an old play" founded upon "the deposing of Richard II.," to be played on the afternoon before their breaking out

the Queen, in her extreme anger, was discreditably anxious that he should be subjected to very severe treatment, from which, it is delightful to learn, that he owed his safety to the wit, good temper, and humane and liberal feeling of Lord Bacon. We have the incident upon the authority of that great man himself. "Her Majesty being mightily incensed with that book which was dedicated to my Lord of Essex, being a story of the first year of King Henry IV., thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the people's head boldness and faction, said, she had an opinion there was treason in it, and

into rebellion, and he, and a great company, attended the performance; see the circumstances related in Camden's Annals, anno 1601; Bacon's Works, vi. 363, Montagu's edition; State Trials, i. 1412. What "old play" it was that Sir Gilly Merick revived is a moot point amongst Shakspeare critics and commentators, the solution of which has been rendered more difficult by Mr. Collier's interesting publication of the notes of Forman, the astrologer, in his "New Particulars regarding the works of Shakespeare, 8vo. 1836." Forman gives clear testimony to the existence of a play entitled Richard II., which differed both from Shakspeare's play of that name, and also from that ordered to be played by Merick. Mr. Collier's book contains all the facts, together with a very ingenious letter from Mr. Amyot, in which he suggests various reasons for believing that Shakspeare wrote a "First Part of Richard II.," and that *that* First Part was the play which Forman saw; see also the Introduction to Richard II. in the Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare.

The notion of the applicability of the precedent of Richard II. to the case of all weak and erring sovereigns, occasioned a republication of Hayward's Henry IV. in 1642.

asked me if I could not find any places in it that might be drawn within case of treason: whereto I answered: 'For treason surely I find none, but for felony very many.' And when her Majesty hastily asked me 'wherein?' I told her, the author had committed very apparent theft; for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his text. And another time when the Queen would not be persuaded it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous author; and said, with great indignation, that she would have him racked to produce his author: I replied, 'Nay, madam, he is a doctor, never rack his person, but rack his style; let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake by collating the styles to judge whether he were the author or no.'"* But although thus kindly sheltered from personal outrage, he suffered a long imprisonment†—how long does not appear. Beyond doubt

* Bacon's Works, vi. 259, Montagu's edition.

† Camden's Annals, anno 1601. Upon reference to the Books of the Privy Council—which was kindly permitted by C. C. Greville, Esq.—with a view of procuring some further information respecting Hayward's imprisonment, an entry was found, under the date of the 17th May, 1600, which purports that a person *of the same name*, but described as of the Inner Temple, was summoned before the Lords at that time, and bound to give attendance to answer whatever might be

he was confined until some time after the death of his earliest patron in 1601, and probably until the death of the Queen.

The accession of James I. produced a great change in Hayward's situation and prospects, and if it did not restore his person to liberty, set free his pen, and converted the silenced and disgraced defender of hereditary monarchy into a court-advocate, a champion of the lofty notions and pretensions of the new dynasty. His next two publications were in the nature of political treatises or pamphlets, in which he discussed, separately, two subjects of great public importance: James's title to the throne,* and the union of the two kingdoms.† I infer from passages in these works that they were not written under the direct sanction of the court, but were mere

objected against him. Upon further inquiry I found that the John Hayward to whom that entry refers was, at one time, of Clifford's Inn, and afterwards of Tandridge, in Surrey; that he was admitted of the Inner Temple on 22nd November, 1588, and was called to the bar on the 3rd November, 1598. The entry in question rather puzzled me at first, and I mention these facts lest any future inquirer should be misled by it. The same person is mentioned as John *Haward* in Manning and Bray's Surrey, ii. 305, 379.

* The Right of Succession asserted against the false Reasonings and seditious Insinuations of R. Dollman, *alias* Parsons, and others. 4to. London, 1603.

† A Treatise of Union of England and Scotland. 4to. London, 1604.

ambitious attempts to draw upon their author some share of court notice and favour. The first of them, published in 1603, was dedicated to the new monarch, and the attention of his Majesty was drawn to the opinions and previous labours of its author in the following terms:—

"I here present unto your Majesty this defence, both of the present authority of Princes, and of succession according to proximity of blood; wherein is maintained that the people have no lawful power to remove the one or repel the other: in which two points I have heretofore also declared my opinion, by publishing the tragical events which ensued the deposition of King Richard and usurpation of King Henry the Fourth. Both these labours were undertaken with particular respect to your Majesty's just title of succession in this realm."

The book corresponds to its author's description of it. He argues strenuously in favour of the divine right of kings, and contends that instability and misery must be the certain results of teaching the people that they may depose the sovereign or divert the succession; doctrines which he charges upon the Jesuits.

His book in favour of a legislative union of the two kingdoms, a project at that time under discussion in Parliament, is a skilful exposition of the advantages likely to accrue from such a measure. Hayward argued that a union would extinguish wars between the two kingdoms; increase the

dominion, and add to the dignity, of both of them; be a defence against foreign enemies, and a means of quieting the borders. It is worthy of observation that, amongst the Harleian MSS.* there is preserved a paper of critical notes upon this work of Hayward's, in which the writer contends for the very contrary of all Hayward's positions—those I have mentioned amongst them. Time has now decided between the rival politicians.

Hayward's probable expectations from his political writings were not realized; but instead of court favour he acquired reputation amongst the suitors in the Court of Arches, where, judging from the property he possessed at his death, he must have had considerable practice. His attention to his profession, however, did not prevent his maintaining his reputation as a man skilled in historical researches, and, in 1610, when King James founded his College at Chelsea—"Controversy College," as it was termed by Laud—Hayward was selected as one of the two Historiographers, Camden being the other. The failure of the royal scheme rendered his appointment merely honorary, but, regarded even in that light, it constitutes a satisfactory proof of his literary reputation amongst his contemporaries. Whether it was obtained through the recommendation of Prince Henry, who pa-

* Harl. MS. 292, fo. 128.

tronized that very questionable institution, I have not discovered; but the next incident in our author's life exhibits him as one of the many learned men upon whom that promising young Prince bestowed his favour, and at the same time brings to our notice the state of historical literature, and the origin of two of Hayward's historical works; one of them the Annals now published.

"Prince Henry," relates Hayward, in the Dedication of his Lives of the Norman Kings to Prince Charles, "sent for mee, a few monethes before his death, and, at my second comming to his presence, among some other speeches hee complained much of our Histories of England; and that the English nation, which is inferiour to none in honourable actions, should be surpassed by all, in leauing the memorie of them to posteritie. For this cause hee blamed the negligence of former ages; as if they were ignorant of their owne deseruings; as if they esteemed themselues vnworthie of their worth.

"I answered, that I conceiued these causes hereof; one, that men of sufficiencie were otherwise employed, either in publicke affaires, or in wrestling with the world, for maintenance or encrease of their priuate estates. Another is, for that men might safely write of others in maner of a tale, but in maner of a history safely they could not: because . . . some aliue, finding themselues foule in those vices which they see . . . condemned in

others, their guiltinesse maketh them apt to conceiue, that, whatsoeuer the words are, the finger pointeth onely at them. The last is, for that the argument of our English historie hath bene so foiled heretofore by some vnworthie writers, that men of qualitie may esteeme themselues discredited by dealing in it.

"And is not this (said he) an errour in vs, to permit euery man to be a writer of historie? Is it not an errour to be so curious in other matters, and so carelesse in this? We make choise of the most skilfull workemen to draw or carue the portraiture of our faces, and shall euery artlesse pensell delineate the disposition of our minds? Our apparell must be wrought by the best artificers, and no soile must be suffered to fall upon it: and shall our actions, shall our conditions, be described by euery bungling hand? Shall euery filthie finger defile our reputation? Shall our honour be basely buried in the drosse of rude and absurd writings? Wee are carefull to prouide costly sepulchers, to preserue our dead liues, to preserue some memorie of what wee haue bene: but there is no monument, either so durable, or so largely extending, or so liuely and faire, as that which is framed by a fortunate penne; the memory of the greatest monuments had long since perished, had it not bene preserued by this meanes.

"To this I added: that I did alwayes conceiue, that

we should make our reckoning of three sorts of life: the short life of nature, the long life of fame, and the eternall life of glorie. The life of glorie is so farre esteemed before the other two, as grace is predominant in vs: the life of fame before our naturall life is so farre esteemed, as a generous spirit surmounteth sensualitie . . . Now seeing this life of fame is both preserued and enlarged chiefly by history, there is no man (I suppose) that will . . . resist . . . the . . . writing thereof, but such as are conscious to themselues, either that no good, or that nothing but ill, can bee reported of them. In whom notwithstanding it is an errour to thinke, that any power . . . can . . . obscure the memorie of times succeeding. Posteritie will giue to euery man his due: some ages hereafter will afford those, who will report vnpartially of all.

"Then he questioned, whether I had wrote any part of our English Historie, other then that which had been published, which at that time he had in his hands; I answered, that I had wrote of certaine of our English Kings, by way of a briefe description of their liues: but for historie, I did principally bend and binde myselfe to the times wherein I should liue; in which my owne obseruations might somewhat direct me: but as well in the one as in the other I had at that time perfected nothing.

"To this he said; that in regard of the honour of the time, hee liked well of the last; but for his owne instruc-

tion, he more desired the first: that he desired nothing more then to know the actions of his auncestours; because hee did so farre esteeme his descent from them, as he approached neere them in honourable endeauours. Hereupon, beautifying his face with a sober smile, he desired mee, that against his returne from the progresse then at hand, I would perfect somewhat of both sorts for him, which he promised amply to requite; and was well knowen to be one who esteemed his word aboue ordinary respects. This stirred in mee, not onely a will, but power to perfourme; so as engaging my duety farre aboue the measure either of my leisure or of my strength, I finished 'The liues of these three Kings of Norman race,' and 'Certaine yeeres of Queene Elizabeth's Reigne.'

"At his returne from the Progresse to his house at S. James,* these pieces were deliuered vnto him; which hee did not onely courteously, but ioyfully accept. And, because this [the Lives of the Norman Kings] seemed a perfect worke, he expressed a desire that it should be published. Not long after he died: and with him died both my endeauours and my hopes."

Hayward then eulogises his deceased patron, and "having," he says, "accomplished his desire in publishing this worke, more to testifie to the world the height of

* This was in September, 1612; which is the date, therefore, of the composition of the following Annals.

his [Prince Henry's] heart then for any pleasure I have to set foorth any thing to the view of these both captious and unthankfull times," he dedicates it to Prince Charles.

Without entering into any detailed criticism upon the book thus ushered into the world, I may remark, that I think it scarcely deserves the disregard into which it has fallen. It is a clear narrative, written in a simpler style than most of its author's works, and founded upon the best authorities, both printed and manuscript; amongst others, William of Malmesbury, and Ingulphus, then recently published by Sir Henry Savile, William of Jumieges, included in Camden's Collection, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A knowledge of the last, which was at that time not merely unpublished, but unknown to the great majority of scholars, betokens that Hayward was a diligent inquirer into the more recondite sources of English history. He no doubt consulted it in the library of Sir Robert Cotton.

Disappointed of a patron in Prince Henry, receiving no encouragement from that prince's successor, and probably but little from the public, by whom historical works were slightly regarded, Hayward forsook a path of publication which yielded him neither profit nor fame, and embarked upon another in which he was more certain of receiving attention. "The Sanctuary of a troubled Soul;" "David's Teares, or an exposition of the Penitential

Psalmes;" "Christ's Prayer on the Cross for his enemies;" these, which are the titles of his three next works, first published successively in 1616, 1622 and 1623, sufficiently explain their character. Like similar works of that period, they are distinguished by an admirable tone of fervent piety, and were no doubt popular; the first and second were several times reprinted within a few years after publication.

On the 5th of August, 1616, Hayward was admitted a Member of the College of Advocates in Doctors' Commons,* and in 1619, on the 9th November, he was knighted—an honour for which he was doubtless indebted to his professional eminence.† Notwithstanding his strong religious feelings, there are many traces in his works, and in his will, of a mind very far from uninfluenced by worldly distinctions, and it is not improbable that the title was an object of his ambition. Two years before his knighthood he applied to be incorporated LL.D. of Oxford, but unsuccessfully;‡ on what account does not appear.

His next work—a treatise upon the Ecclesiastical Supremacy—possesses an interest on account of the

* Coote's Catalogue of English Civilians, p. 73.

† There were two other Doctors of Laws knighted on the same day, Sir John Amie and Sir James Hussey. The latter was registrar of the University of Oxford, principal of Magdalen-Hall, and Chancellor of Sarum. He was admitted of Doctors' Commons on 28th January, 1604. Coote's Cat. p. 68.

‡ Wood's Fasti Oxon. i. 368.

circumstances out of which it arose—circumstances which afford a glance at our author's position in society in 1605, when they occurred, although the work was not published until 1624. "During the time of the Parliament held in 1605, I dined," Hayward says, "at the House of the most reverend Thobie Mathew, then Bishop of Durham, since Archbishop of York; a man of eminent esteem both for industry and abilitie in his profession, equall both for sharpnes of understanding and for sweetnesse, both in conversation and in speech: whose table being much frequented by persons for different qualities well reputed, and their speeches both excited and maintained by him, had commonly the great variety of dishes answered by like varietie of discourse.

"The first part of the dinner was passed over in sad and sober silence at the last, silence was broken, and some speeches spent in matters of conceit. In which veine one of the company tooke often occasion to speake of a '*terrible blow*,' alluding to the same words in that letter whereby the late practise against His Majesty and the whole body of the state was beaten out and brought into light.

"Hereupon a Gentleman somewhat more severe by [longe] exercising the office of Justice in his country,"

* The words within brackets are derived from an interleaved copy of this work in the British Museum, which contains these and various

contended for the propriety of measures of retaliation against the Roman Catholics. This speech was variously taken, but the Bishop said "that as this was suddenly, so happily it was too severely spoken." "And yet he seemed to admire either the fortune, or fine dexteritie, of the Italians: who having once obtained the Empire of the chiefest part of the world, and not able to hold it one way have since erected a spirituall Empire, comprising not only the whole surface of the earth, but extending to heaven [as Clement the Sixth charged the Angells to carrye their soules directly to Paradise whoe should dye upon the waye towards his jubilee], and [alsoe] to the neerest confines of hell [for upon some reasonable redemption they will grant Indulgencies not onlye to preserve soules from coming into Purgatorie, but for discharging such as are there: eyther absolutelye, or for soe many hundred or thousand yeares, as it shall please them to appoint.]" Then, after the Bishop had enumerated certain qualities of the Church of Rome incompatible with its being the true church of God, the conversation passed to the Bill propounded to Parliament against recusants, and the Oath of supremacy, respecting which several opinions were expressed. Hayward then interfered and drew the question, as he says, "to a higher degree: affirming that it

other passages, inserted in a handwriting which, judging from comparison, I believe to be that of Hayward himself.

seemed necessary that a King, who acknowledgeth no superior under God, should be acknowledged to have supreame authority under God in ecclesiasticall affaires. That this is a principal point of regalitie, and therefore necessarily annexed to the soveraigne majesty of every state: That it is a hard matter, if not impossible, for any nation, either to grow, or long time to continue, very great, wherein a forraine power holdeth the regiment in religion: That in all ancient Empires and Commonwealths it has been used: That—I could not finish that which I was about to speake, being interrupted by a confused clamour of three or four at the table, who esteemed that which I had said, not for a Paradoxe, but for an Adoxe, or flat absurdity: seeing many Christian countries have admitted forraine government in matters of religion.

"By this time the Basons and Ewers were set upon the table, and all of us were attentive to the giving of thanks. After we had washed, and the cloath was taken away, the Bishop" renewed the conversation with some remarks in favour of Hayward's proposition. A long discussion ensued; Hayward was called upon to make it appear from history that, in all principal Empires and Commonwealths, the supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters not affecting religious truth, but relating to "discipline or matters of circumstance and externall forme," hath been exercised

by the chief power in the state, and the result was the delivery of the argument which, in an enlarged form, constitutes the present pamphlet. It is dedicated to Prince Charles, in terms which contrast strangely with the *immodicæ laudes* of Essex in our author's first publication. There is something like the bitterness of disappointment in the unceremonious bluntness of the opening passage—"I had long since given over the conceit of dedicating Books to any great Personage. Knowing right well, that, as badd bookes cannot receive countenance from any, so good bookes need not: and finding the one and the other to be commonly answered with silence alike."

This was the last work of our author which saw the light in his lifetime. He died, three years afterwards, on the 27th of June 1627, and it then appeared that, although the popular taste had driven him into the paths of theology, his heart had still been amongst historical researches, and that, besides the "Certain yeeres of Queene Elizabeth's Reigne," which he had presented to Prince Henry, he had left behind him a complete history of the reign of Edward VI.—a work of higher interest and pretensions than any he had previously written, and that by which his name has since been principally known.

It was first published in 1630, and again in 1636, with the addition of "the beginning of the raigne of Queene Elizabeth," that is, a small portion of the "Certain Yeeres" pre-

sented to Prince Henry. The remainder of that work was entirely lost sight of by historical inquirers, and, as far as I have observed, has remained unknown* up to the present time. Having found a manuscript of it in the Harleian Collection, I brought it to the attention of the Council of the Camden Society, and suggested the propriety of its publication. The proposal was very kindly acceded to, and the work is now laid before the Members in the following pages.

It will be found to partake of the qualities of all Hayward's writings, and, in some respects, to be superior to any of them. On the one hand, he wrote nothing more graphic than the description of Elizabeth's person, and of her courteous behaviour, at pages 6 and 7; on the other, there is not in any of his writings a more striking exhibition of that pedantry which was the vice of his age, than the arguments at page 58, respecting the propriety of bombarding the fortified churches of Leith. Many similar instances of the misapplication of scriptural and classical knowledge occur in his other works. The pretended bequest of the throne of England by Edward the Confessor to William the Conqueror is justified, if true, by the precedents of Attalus, King of Pergamus, and Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, and by Solomon's gift

* Vide Nicolson's Historical Library, p. 87, edit. 1736, and Brydges's Censura Literaria, iii. 43, n.

of twenty cities to Hiram, King of Tyre (Lives of the Norman Kings, p. 40); the substitution of William for Robert, as the Conqueror's successor in the throne of England, is by no means justified, for, in Hayward's opinion, there was not any circumstance that could justify a departure from hereditary succession, but it is illustrated by the cases of David and Solomon, Prusias and Ptolemy; and there is a singular proof amongst the Cæsar collections* of the length to which Hayward carried his fondness for this peculiar mode of exhibiting his learning. The proof to which I allude is contained in a paper indorsed by Sir Julius Cæsar—"D. Hayward touching remaunding of prisoners, or offenders, from one soveraigne to another soveraigne King. 8 Julii, 1618." It evidently has reference to the case of a Dutch captain who had improperly captured and taken into Holland a person named Browne, an English collector of dues from fishermen.† The English government demanded that the captain should be delivered up to them for trial and punishment, and this was a paper upon the subject sent by Hayward to Sir Julius, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer. It consists of authorities for the "remaunding" alluded to, gathered from Livy, Pausanias, and the Book of Judges, and referring to

* Lansd. MS. No. 142, fo. 418.
† Ibid. fo. 414: fo. 416.

transactions of the Romans and Sabines, the Lacedemonians, the Messenians, the Elians, and the Israelites. It concludes with the following—"Herodes Christum sub ditione eius degentem Pilato remisit." Hayward wrote the first word, Pilatus, by mistake; Sir Julius corrected the blunder, and then, with good taste, ran his pen through the sentence, but it remains perfectly legible, a singular proof not only of the characteristic to which I have referred, but also how far the lawyers of that day would go in search of a precedent.*

That I may not be thought to treat my author with injustice, I ought to repeat that this perversion of learning was the common foible of the times. Examples might be adduced from the writings of all classes, from the Sovereign downwards, but it is unnecessary. Scholars

* I look upon this paper as an unquestionable specimen of Hayward's handwriting, and it is from comparison with it that I have concluded that the MS. notes in the copy of the treatise on Supremacy before mentioned (p. xxiv, n.), were also written by him. The character of neither of them resembles the autograph published as Hayward's in Nichols's Autographs (plate 44), nor does that agree in the spelling of the name with any variation of it that I have found used by Hayward. It is derived from a fly leaf preserved in one of Bagford's volumes (Harl. MS. 5901, No. 197), and followed, in the original, by several Latin lines, all in the same handwriting as the name. Probably they are in the writing of John Haiward, author of "The Strong Helper; teaching in all troubles how to cast our burden upon God." London, 1614. 8vo.

of this description have, in our day, been pourtrayed to the very life by that prolific genius, who, under the guise of fiction, rendered us acquainted with so many of the customs and peculiarities of our ancestors. The Baron of Bradwardine is an instance in point, and, with a very slight modification of language, it might have been Hayward, and not the Baron, who, as an argument against insulting Ensign Waverley by the proposal of a treasonable toast, entreated the Laird of Balmawhapple to "Look at Titus Livius; what he says of those Roman soldiers who were so unhappy as *exuere sacramentum.*"

In other requisites of an historian, Hayward was far from deficient. He spared no pains to gather information, and often obtained it from sources the most difficult to reach. I have already noticed this fact respecting his Norman Kings; his Edward VI. was the first history founded upon the valuable journal of that sovereign, to which Hayward had access through the liberality of Sir Robert Cotton; and a comparison of various passages in the following work with the diplomatic correspondence relating to the same facts, which has since been published, has led me to the conclusion, that he must have had access to many public or official documents. His fidelity was equal to his diligence. Mistakes there are in his works—and who can write without them? and prejudices and superstitions

will occasionally peep forth; but the following work contains in its highly favourable picture of Queen Elizabeth,—whose memory Hayward had certainly no personal cause to revere, and dispraise of whom would not have been unacceptable in the court of her successor,—a striking proof that the author could follow truth even at the sacrifice of his own feelings.

But Hayward's claim to consideration and regard is not founded on his style, or his diligence, or his fidelity, but on the fact to which I have before alluded—that he was amongst the first of those who sought to make our History something better than a mere extended chronology. It was his desire, "by the light of language," to use the expressive words of Lord Bacon, "to place before our very eyes, the movements of the times, the characters of persons, the hesitations of councils, the course and flow of actions, as of waters; the hollowness of pretences, the secrets of empire." To do all this, Lord Bacon continues, "is truly a work of great labour and judgment," and if it be so, great should be the honour, and many the allowances, which they meet with, who first lead the way towards its accomplishment.

Of Hayward the man, I can relate little more than has already appeared of Hayward the historian. The engraved portrait* in his Life of Edward VI. represents

* Granger (ii. 27), and Bromley (p. 100), mention another por-

him in his Doctor's robes at about the age of sixty; a strong, large-boned, muscular man, with a capacious forehead, heavy brow, most portentous moustaches, lank, thin hair, and a solemn, determined, and somewhat melancholy expression of countenance.

He married Jane, one of the daughters of Andrew Paschall, of Springfield, in the county of Essex, Esquire.* The marriage was not a happy one; his wife, as he states in his will, brought him but a small portion, led an unquiet life, and treated him with little respect. She survived her husband, and died at a very advanced age in 1642. Their only child, of whom there is any trace, was a daughter, named Mary, who was married at Great Saint Bartholomew's on the 16th January, 1621-22, to Nicholas Rowe, Esquire, of Muswell-hill, in the county of Middlesex, a young gentleman of a good London family, then only nineteen years of age. Mr. Rowe

trait, a small oval inserted in the title-page of his "Sanctuary for a troubled Soul," and several times engraved in different editions of that work. The copies which I have been able to inspect have wanted that portrait.

* See the certificate of Sir John Hayward's interment derived from the College of Arms, which is printed *post*, p. xlvii. I am indebted to Charles George Young, Esquire, York Herald, for a reference to that certificate, as well as for much other information, and a great deal of trouble very kindly taken in furthering my inquiries upon this occasion.

was knighted on the 16th July, 1625. Before the marriage of his daughter, Hayward settled upon her and her heirs "certain houses and lands near Woodgreen, in Tottenham." At the date of his will, the 30th March, 1626, we learn that Lady Rowe had died, leaving "one young child, named Mary;" and we may further gather, that his son-in-law, Sir Nicholas, had highly displeased him. Mary, Sir Nicholas's daughter, died, an infant, in 1634.

Hayward resided for many years in the parish of Great Saint Bartholomew, near Smithfield, a situation well suited for the practice of his profession, and containing, at that time, many excellent family mansions.* He had a beneficial lease of his residence, and left ten pounds to the poor of the parish.

Besides the "lands and tenements" at Felixstow, in Suffolk, which he inherited from his father, the "houses and lands" at Tottenham, which he purchased, and the lease of his residence, his will makes mention of £1300 invested upon a mortgage of some lands of John Bill, the king's printer, situate at Kentish town, and contains other indications that he possessed property.

* Amongst them that of Lord Rich, Lord Chancellor in the reign of Edward VI. His residence in the neighbourhood of the Charter House, then the mansion of the Duke of Norfolk, led to the mistake in the delivery of a letter, which was the cause of his hasty resignation of the Great Seal. Vide Fuller's Church History, book vii.

Of his friends, there are few or no traces: he was a guest, we have seen, at the table of the Bishop of Durham; he was admitted to personal intercourse with Prince Henry; and was permitted by Sir Robert Cotton to have the use of his collections. He was mentioned in 1617 in the proposal for erecting an "Academy Royal," which was a scheme for the revival of the first Society of Antiquaries, as a person fit to belong to such an association.* Camden declares that he was a learned man,† and all who have examined his works have confirmed that opinion; Wood says the same thing, with an addition:—"He was accounted a learned and godly man, and one better read in theological authors than in those belonging to his profession."‡ His piety may be inferred from his religious works, but I am not aware of any authority for the latter part of Wood's statement.

He held extreme opinions on many points of politics; the divine right of kings, and the indefeasibleness of hereditary succession, are a key to the whole of them: and those he maintained consistently, and, no doubt, conscientiously. His theological opinions were in strict conformity with the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England, and his practice was that of a man strongly impressed with a sense of the importance of religious

* Archæolog. i. xviii.
† Annal. anno 1601.
‡ Fasti Oxon. i. 368.

observances. His "Sanctuary of a troubled Soul" arose, by degrees, out of the devotional exercises in which it had been his custom, for many years, to pass some hours of the days specially appointed for the service of God; and he appeals to the prayers in the second part of the same work as the best account he can give of his Sabbath-day's employment. Nor was his piety without its reward. Amidst many troubles and disappointments, he declares that he had attained a quiet, contented life, and thus concludes the Introduction to his work on the Penitential Psalms, "Let others hunt after favour and wealth . . . I desire and pray that this heavenly harmony may alwayes ring in my eares; that I may close the last period of my life with one of these songs of Sion."

His will is so characteristic, especially in its commencement, in the severe passages relating to his wife,*

* The bitter feelings which Hayward entertained against womankind lead to inferences not very favourable to his lady: "O wives!" he exclaims, when commenting upon the conduct of the Duchess of Somerset in his History of Edward VI., "the most sweete poison, the most desired evill in the world. Certainly as it is true, as *Syracides* saith, that *there is no malice to the malice of a woman*, so no mischiefe wanteth where a malitious woman beareth sway. A woman was first given to man for a comforter, but not for a counsailor, much lesse a controler and directer, and, therefore, in the first sentence against man, this cause is expressed, *because thou obeyedst the voice of thy wife*." (p. 84, edit. 1630.) Notwithstanding their mutual disagreements, it may be inferred from their wills that both Hayward and his wife lived upon friendly terms with her relations.

and in the direction that his body should not be "mangled after death for experience to others," that I have thought right to print it at length. His interment, which was probably hastened by a fear of the plague, took place on the day after his death, at the church of Great Saint Bartholomew's, and his will was proved at Doctors' Commons on the same day. It will be seen near the close of his will that he directed his executor to cause a monument to be erected over the place of his interment, "wherein," says he, "I desire that he do not beare an over-sparing hand." Disappointment followed him through life, and its measure was completed by the failure of this, his last, desire. His patrons successively failed him; he aimed at public employment, but without success; his books brought him little fame; he lived unhappily with his wife; his only child died at an early age; her surviving husband displeased him; his ample provision for his grandchild was rendered unavailing by her death in childhood; and, finally, after all his care to have his memory perpetuated by some costly erection, no trace can be discovered of any monument whatever.

The manuscript from which the present work is printed occurs in the volume of the Harleian MSS. No. 6021. The first article in the volume is a MS. of Hayward's Edward VI. and the third is a contemporary transcript of the Annals now published, written in three several hands. About a page and a half is repeated at fo. 124, where

the second hand begins, and, in some places, there are slight verbal variations between the part of the work which is printed at the end of the Edward VI. of the edition of 1636 and the MS. When those variations add anything to the sense, or correct palpable mistakes, I have introduced them into the text within brackets: instances may be seen in pages 9 and 11. There is nothing in the MS. to prove that Hayward was its author, but that fact is capable of being satisfactorily established. It is clear he wrote a work of this character; "the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth," appended to the edition of his Edward VI. published in 1636, is directly assigned to him; and that work is identical with the following, as far as it goes. Besides which, there is so close a similarity between the style of the present work and the other publications of Hayward, that certainly the penetration of Lord Bacon is not necessary to determine by "collation" that they proceeded from the same pen.

When I recur to what I have written, and observe the length to which my observations have extended, I feel apprehensive that I may be thought to have occupied a greater space than is due to my subject. It should, however, be borne in mind that the present publication completes the series of Sir John Hayward's works, and affords, therefore, a proper opportunity for endeavouring to add something to the few biographical particulars

hitherto known concerning him. Little as I have been able to effect, I would fain hope that my mite will be acceptable, as a contribution, not only to our Literary History—a subject which well deserves the attention of the Camden Society—but to two important works, the non-existence of which is daily more and more deplored; a History of Suffolk, and an *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*. The former is, I trust, happily in progress, under the care of Mr. Gage Rokewode; for the latter there exists an abundance of materials, but where is the scholar whose zeal and learning are to secure for Cambridge advantages as great as those which Oxford derives from the conjoint labours of Anthony Wood and Dr. Bliss?

JOHN BRUCE.

31st October, 1839.

P.S.—By favour of the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Jenner I am enabled to add a copy of the entry in the Treasurer's Book of the Society of Doctors' Commons signed by Sir John Hayward, upon his admission into that body—"Ego Johannes Haywarde promitto me soluturum huic societati DD. de Arcubus, singulis annis quod vixero, sex solidos,

et octo denarios; 5° Augusti, 1616. Jo. HAYWARDE."
—This entry confirms what I have before stated upon the authority of Dr. Coote. I am indebted to Sir Herbert Jenner for very great kindness in endeavouring to forward my inquiries upon this occasion. He caused the Registers of the Court of Arches and of the Vicar General's Office to be searched for information respecting Sir John Hayward, but nothing farther could be found.

J. B.

28th January, 1840.

WILL OF SIR JOHN HAYWARD.

DATED 30TH MARCH, 1626.

STATUTUM EST OMNIBUS MORI, HEB. ix.—This Statute, soe ancient as Adam's fall, and never since repealed, neuer any priviledg from the execution thereof, doth advertise mee of the advise which the Prophett Esay gave to King Ezechias, "Sett thie house in order, for thou must die:" Therefore, I, SIR JOHN HAYWARD, Knight, and Doctor of Law, in good estate and condicion of health, doe hereby dispose of my worldly estate as followeth; First, WHEREAS I purchased certaine houses and lands neere Woodgreene, in Totenham, within the countie of Middlesex, of Ambrose Wheeler, of London, gentleman, and of Thomas Hanchet, late of Braughing, within the countie of Hertford, Esquire, and of Edward Hanchet, his sonne,* and did graunt the same to my Daughter, Mary, and to the heires of her body lawfully begotten, and this graunt made before her marriag with Sir Nicholas Rowe, Knight; † and for de-

* All these persons were connexions of Sir John Hayward. It has been stated (p. xxxiii.) that he married a daughter of Andrew Paschall, of Springfield, in Essex, Esq. His wife had an elder sister, Mary, who married the Thomas Hanchet here mentioned. They had two sons, Edward, also mentioned above, who was Sir John Hayward's executor, and Thomas, who will be found hereafter noticed in the will. They had also three daughters; Mary, wife of Mr. Ware, of the county of Norfolk; Frances, wife of Mr. Abraham Williams, agent to the King and Queen of Bohemia; and Penelope, wife of the Mr. Ambrose Wheeler who is here mentioned, and who is described in the books of the College of Arms as a merchant in London. I am indebted to C. G. Young, Esq., York Herald, for many of these and many other particulars respecting the persons mentioned in the will.

† There were two branches of the family of Rowe seated near London. One at Hackney and the other at Muswell Hill. Sir Nicholas was one of the Rowes of Muswell Hill, son of Sir Nicholas and grandson of Sir William Rowe of the same place; which Sir William was Lord Mayor of London in 1592. It appears, from the books of the College of Arms, that, after the death of Sir John Hayward's daughter,

fault of such issue, the same houses and lands to remayne to mee and to my heires againe; insomuch as the said Dame Mary, my Daughter, is now departed this world, hauing left behind her one young child by the said Sir Nicholas Rowe, named Mary,* whereby the said Sir Nicholas Rowe hath the said houses and lands for tearme of his life, by the curtesie of England; in case the said Mary Rowe, my Grandchild, departe this life without issue of her bodie lawfullie begotten, then, the said curtesie determined, I devise and giue the said Tenements and lands to my Wife, during the tearme of her naturall life, and, after her decease, or, if shee shall not bee liueing when the said remainder shall fall, Then I giue all the same houses and lands to James Rivett, of Witlesham, within the countie of Suffolke, my Sister's Sonne,† and to the heires of his bodie lawfully begotten. ALL my Lands and Tenements in Felixtow, in the countie of Suffolke, I giue to my wife, during the tearme of her naturall life, and, after her decease, I giue the same to my Grand-

Sir Nicholas married into the family of Sir Edward Duncomb, Knight, and had a son named George, who was buried at Saint James's, Clerkenwell, (of which parish Muswell Hill is an outlying and isolated portion,) on 7th July, 1681. The Hackney branch of the family became extinct in the male line upon the decease of Anthony Rowe, Esq., who was buried at Hackney in 1704. One of Anthony's daughters married an ancestor of the Marquess of Downshire. (Vide Lysons's Environs, ii. 425; and Rowe Mores's Hist. of Tunstall, Bibl. Topog. Brit. i.)

* There were two children of the marriage of Sir Nicholas Rowe and Jane Hayward; Elizabeth, buried at Saint James's, Clerkenwell, on the 5th January, 1623-6, and the Mary who is here mentioned. She died in the year 1634, and was also buried at Saint James's, Clerkenwell.

† It appears, from the various statements of relationship mentioned in this will, and from some further information derived from Royce's Suffolk Collections in the College of Arms, that Sir John Hayward's mother was twice married. By one husband she had Sir John Hayward, and a daughter, Ursula, living in 1626, who married Robert Revett of Witlesham in Suffolk, and had a son, the James Revett here mentioned, who married * * * Armiger of Otley. The Revetts are a well known, and still existing, Suffolk family. By her other husband, whose name was Brandeston, Sir John Hayward's mother had a son named Thomas, who is mentioned in this will, and a daughter, who had died long before 1626, leaving a daughter, named Anne Snell.

child, Mary Rowe, and to the heires of her body lawfully to bee begotten; Prouided alwaies that Sir Nicholas Rowe, my said Grandchild's Father, shall noe waies intermedle with the said lands and tenements, or with any rents or profitts riseing from the same, but that James Revett, my Sister's Sonne, or his heires, shall haue the letting of the said lands from tyme to tyme, and receaue the rents thereof to his proper vse, vntill such tyme as my said Grandchild shall accomplish the age of Eighteene yeares, or bee married, which first shall happen; And, after her accomplishment of the said age of eighteene yeares, in case shee shall then bee vnmarried, then the said James Revett to continue lettinge and receauing rents as aforesaid, vntill my said grandchild shall accomplish the age of one and twentie yeares, or bee married, and then to bee accomptable to her for all the rents which he shall receaue after her age of eighteene years, vntil the age of one and twentie yeares, or tyme of her marriage, which first shall happen. And in case my said grandchild shall departe this life without heires of her body lawfully begotten, then I giue the said tenements and lands in Felixtow to James Revett aforesaid, and to the heires of his body lawfully begotten, according to the purport of my Father's will. My Lease of my house wherein I now dwell, scituate in Great Saint Bartholomew's, neere Smithfeild, London, I giue to my sayd Grandchild, Mary Rowe, in case she bee liuing at the tyme of my decease, otherwise to my executor hereafter to bee named, Provided that, in case my said grandchild bee liuing at the tyme of my decease, Sir Nicholas Rowe, her Father, shall haue nothing to doe with the said house, or any parte of the profitts thereof, but that my Executor, hereafter named, receave the rents and bee accomptable for one cleere moity of the same to my said grandchild at her age of one and twentie yeares, or tyme of her marriag, which first shall happen, and the other cleere moity, the rent reserued vpon the said lease being paid, to retaine to himselfe. I giue to my wife the bedd wherein she

lieth, with all things pertayning there vnto, and two other of the meanest bedds for servants, which, together with all my former legacies vnto her, and her thirds which she maie clayme out of the Lands in Totenham before mencioned, I esteeme enough, in regard of the small porcion she brought mee; And regard of her vnquiet life, and small respect towards mee, a greate deale to much.* I give to my Sister, Ursula Riuett, twentie pounds; and to my halfe-brother, Mr. Thomas Brandston, fortie pounds; and to Ann Snell, of Woluerston, in Suffolke, Daughter to my half Sister, long since deceased, ten pounds. And whereas Mr. John Bill, one of the King's Printers, hath mortgaged to mee all his houses and lands lying and being in the parish of Kentishtowne, within the countie of Middlesex, for the some of thirteene hundred pounds, and hath reserued the space of three yeares for redempcion, First, I will and desire my Executor to purchase the same lands out of the residue of my estate directly and fully, whereof I haue entertayned speech with the said Mr. Bill, And then I giue the said houses and lands to my said grandchild, Mary, and to the heires of her body lawfully begotten, desiring my Executor to apply the profits and rents thereof to the performaunce of this my will, and for the benefitt of my said Grandchild, to bee accomptable to her for the same when she shall arive at the age of one and twentie yeares, or at the tyme of her marriag, which shall first happen, reteyning to himselfe for every meane yeare twentie pounds, which I giue vnto him for his paines, care, and trust, concerning this busines. And if it happen that my said Grandchild departe this life without heires of her body

* It appears from Lady Hayward's will, proved at Doctors' Commons on the 9th May, 1642, that she resided at its date, the 1st September, 1641, at Hinchsworth in the county of Hertford. She describes herself as a very aged woman; makes mention of her sister Mary Hanchet and her husband, and also of Edward Paschall, grandson of Sir Andrew Paschall, Knight, her brother. She appointed her nephew, Edward Hanchet, Sir John Hayward's executor, executor of her will also.

lawfully begotten, Then I giue the said lands and houses to the aforesayd James Riuett, and to the heires of his body lawfully begotten, And my will is, that the said accompt bee made vnto him or to his heires, But, if the said purchase cannot conveniently, or resonably, bee made, then my will is, that my Executor shall take into his hands the said thirteene hundred pounds, and apply the same in some beneficiall course for my grandchild, and to be accomptable to her for the same at her age of one and twentie yeares, or tyme of her marriag, which first shall happen, reteyning to himselfe twentie markes every yeare for his honest industry about that businesse. And if she die at any yeares before her marriag, then my will is, that the said moneys and profitts thereby arising bee converted to other vses expressed in this my will; Prouided alwaies that Sir Nicholas Rowe, my Grandchild's Father, haue noe doeings with the said houses and lands, or any parte of the moneys or profitts before mencioned, or reape any benefitt at all by this my last will and Testament. I giue to the poore of Felixtowe, in the countie of Suffolke, out of which parish I receaued the meanes of my educacion, twentie pounds, to remaine as a stocke, and the profitts thence ariseing to be converted to the use of the poore there for the tyme being. To the poore of the Parish of Great Saint Bartholomew's, London, where I haue long remained, I giue ten pounds. I giue to every servant which shall remain with mee in house at the tyme of my decease, fortie shillings. My breathlesse putrifying Carkase I leaue to a private vnceremonious Buriall, where I shall hereafter appoint. And my desire is, that my grave bee made eight foot deepe, at the least, where my bones are like to remaine vntouched; And I vtterlie dislike that my bodie bee ripped, cutt, or any waies mangled after my death, for experience to others. Also I will that a monument bee erected over the place of my buriall, at the discretion of my Executor, wherein I desire that he doe not beare an over-sparing hand. I constitute and ap-

point Edward Hanchet, my wiue's Sister's Sonne, sole executor of this my last Will and Testament, and I desire Thomas Hanchett, his younger brother, to bee assistant to him herein, and doe giue them for theire paines fiftie pounds apeice, besides any legacie formerly giuen to the said Edward. And if the said Edward Hanchett shall either die before mee, or refuse to take upon him thexecution of this my Will, Then I appoint the said Thomas onelie to vndergoe it, and to take to himselfe the whole hundred pounds, and whatsoever besides I haue giuen to the said Edward by this my will. All my bookes, and the moitie of the residue of all my goods, chattles, and debts, I giue to my said grandchild, Mary, in case she liue to bee married. And then the other moitie I giue to the said James Rivett, he paying to my Sister, his Mother, twentie pounds, in case she shalbe liuing at the tyme of my death. But, in case my said Grandchild shall die before her marriag, Then all the residue of my goods, chattles, and debts, I giue to the said James Riuett, he paying to his said mother fortie pounds. In witness whereof I haue sealed and subscribed to every sheete, and acknowledged this writing as my last Will and Testament, in presence of the witnesses whose names are vnderwritten, JOHN HAYWARD. Sealed, subscribed, acknowledged, the thirtith daie of March, one thousand sixe hundred twentie sixe. John Bill. John Olwer. Thomas Baker.

This will was proved by Edward Hanchet, the sole Executor, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the 28th day of June, 1627, before Sir Henry Marten, Knight, LL.D. The original will was given back to the Executor, and a copy only retained in the Prerogative Court.

Certificate of the Burial of Sir John Hayward, recorded in the College of Arms.

The right worshipfull Sir John Hayward, Knight, and Doctor of the Civill Lawe, departed this mortall life at his house, in Great St. Bartholomew's, London, on Wednesday, the xxvijth of June, 1627, and was buried in the Church of Great St. Bartholomew's aforesaid.* He maried Jane, daughter of Andrew Pascall, of Springfeild, in Essex, Esquier, by whom he had yssue, Mary, his only daughter and heire, who married Sir Nicholas Roe, Knight, of Highgate, in the county of Middlesex, and hath yssue by him Mary, only daughter. His Executor was Mr. Edward Hanchet, of Uphall, in Brohun, in the county of Hertford, Esquier. This certificate was taken the vijth of July, 1627, by Henry Chittinge, Chester, and testified to be true by Thomas Hanchet, of Uphall aforesaid, Esquier, and Thomas Hanchet, his sonne.

(Signed) Tho. Hanchet.
Tho. Hanchet, Junior.

* It appears in the parish register that the interment took place on the 28th June, 1627.

Catalogue of the Works of Sir John Hayward.

I. The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the IIII. extending to the end of the first yeare of his raigne. Written by I. H. Imprinted at London by John Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop in Pope's head Alley, neere to the Exchange. 1599. 4to. pp. 149, besides title-page, dedication, and preface.

Copies of this work differ in the ornaments upon the title-page, and in the dedication. It would seem that part of the impression was worked off when a mistake of "frontl" instead of "fronts" was discovered in the dedication. The title-page and dedication were then again set up, with different typographical ornaments, and the mistake corrected.

It was reprinted Lond. 1642, 8vo. with Sir Robert Cotton's Short View of the reigne of Henry III. prefixed. Lowndes, in his Bibliographer's Manual, makes mention of an edition in 1627, 4to. of which I have not been able to find any other trace.

II. An Answer to the first part of a Conference concerning Succession, published not long since under the name of R. Dollman. London, 4to. 1603.

This work was reprinted during the discussions respecting the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, with the following title, "The Right of Succession asserted against the False reasonings and seditious Insinuations of R. Dolman, alias Parsons, and others. By the learned Sir John Hayward, K^t. Doctor of Laws. Dedicated to the King, and now reprinted for the satisfaction of the zealous promoters of the Bill of Exclusion. London, printed for Mat. Gillyflower, Will. Henssman, and Tho. Fox, Booksellers in Westminster Hall." 1683, 8vo. pp. 178.

III. A treatise of Union of the two Realmes of England and Scotland, by I. H. At London. Imprinted by F. K. for C. B., and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church Yard, at the Signe of the Swanne. 1604, 4to. pp. 88.

IV. The Lives of the iii. Normans, Kings of England: William the First; William the Second; Henrie the First. Written by I. H. Mart. Improbè facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est. Imprinted at London by R. B., Anno 1613, 4to. pp. 314, besides title-page and dedication.

Reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany; part in vol. ii. p. 438, and the remainder in vol. ix. p. 264.

V. The Sanctuarie of a troubled Soule. London, 1616, 12mo.

There are other editions, all in 12mo., assigned by bibliographical writers to the years 1618, with a portrait engraved by W. Hole; 1623, with a portrait by * * * Payne; and 1632, with a portrait by T. Cecill. The only copy which I have seen is in Sion College Library. It is in two parts, with separate title-pages; "The Sanctuarie of a troubled soule; by Sir John Hayward Knight, Doc^r of Lawe. London. Printed by Jeane Bell, 1650." 12mo; and "The Second Part of the Sanctuarie of a troubled Soule. By Sir John Hayward, Knight, D^r of Law. London. Printed for Mores Bell at the east end of Christ Church. 1649." 12mo. pp. 386.

VI. David's Teares. By Sir John Hayward, Knight, Doc. of Lawe. London. Printed by John Bill, 1622, 8vo.

There are other editions in 4to. 1623 and 1625. The only copy I have seen is that in Sion College Library of the edition of 1623. It contains pp. 343.

VII. Christ's Prayer on the Crosse for his Enemies. Lond. 1623. 8vo.

VIII. Of Supremacie in Affaires of Religion, by Sir John Hayward, Knight, Doctor of Lawe. London. Printed by John Bill, Printer to the King's most excellent Maiestie. 1624. 4to. pp. 88.

Lowndes, in his Bibliographer's Manual, mentions an edition of this work dated in 1606, as occurring in the Gordonstoun Catalogue, with the title "Report of a Discourse concerning supreme Power in Affaires of Religion." I have not been able to find any other trace of such an edition, and, although the circumstances out of which the work arose would warrant a publication in 1606 (*vide ante*, p. xxiv), there are pas-

sages in the dedication, and in the work itself, as printed in 1624, which seem opposed to an earlier publication. I have therefore assigned the work to that year. If printed in 1606, it must have been considerably altered on its republication in 1624. There was another edition in 1625, 4to.

IX. The Life and Raigne of King Edward the Sixt. Written by S^r^ John Hayward, K^t^., D^r^. of Lawe. London. Printed for John Partridge, and are to be sold at the signe of the Swanne in Paules Church-yard. 4to. 1630. pp. 178, besides title-page and preface.

There is a portrait of Edward VI. engraved by Robert Vaughan, inserted in the title-page, and a portrait of the author, engraved by William Pass, on the back of the last page of the preface. Another edition in 12mo. was published by the same bookseller in 1636 "with the beginning of the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth," that is, a portion of the work now published. This edition has a title-page engraved by William Marshall, containing portraits of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, and contains pp. 494, besides title-pages, preface, and index. The Life of Edward VI. is also reprinted in Kennett's Complete History of England, vol. ii. p. 273. There is a MS. of it in the Harleian MS. No. 6021, art. 1, and another amongst Gale's MSS. in Trinity College, Cambridge. Some strictures upon it may be seen in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, fol. 1721, vol. iii. chap. xxviii. p. 470; 8vo. iii. 357, edit. 1816.

X. Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. London. Printed for the Camden Society, 1840.

Hayward also wrote a preface to a book by Sir Roger Williams, entitled, "The Actions of the Lowe Countries," 4to. London, 1618, reprinted in the second volume of Somers's Tracts.

ANNALS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.



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ANNALS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE FIRST YEAR.

THE last sicknesse of Queene Mary was both exceeding sharpe and of long continuance, her body being wearyed, and almost wasted, with the violence of her disease; her minde anguished with thoughts, no lesse strange for variety, then strong for the great importance they drewe, whereof some (doubtlesse) were secret and singular. And whilest she lay thus languishing under the heavy hand of death, many false rumours were spreade abroade that shee was deade: whereupon a notable example might have been seene how in a royall State the surety of the common people dependes much upon the life and safety of their Prince. For every man's mynd was then travayled with a strange confusione of conceits, all things being immoderately eyther dreaded or desired. Every report was greedily both inquired and receivèd, all truthes suspected, diverse tales beleeved, many improbable conjectures hatched and nourished. Invasione of strangeres, civill dissentione, the doubtfull dispositione of the succeeding Prince, were cast in every man's conceite as present perills; but noe man did buysy his witts in contriving remedyes. They who held themselves in dangere,

A. D. 1558. Sickness and death of Queen Mary, Nov. 17th.

A. D. 1558. seemed to desire nothing but safety: they who apprehended any opinione of safety, did rise into unreasonable desire of liberty; wherein they were as various as in any thing beside, as well for the particulars, as for the limitts of that which they desired. In this medley of thoughts, some thought to serve themselves by adherents, some by adjoyning to those whoe had more to lose than themselves; some stood upon their proper strength, eyther for their owne preservation, or for abating of such as they esteemed too great. Generally, the rich were fearefull, the wise carefull, the honestly-disposed doubtfull, the discontented and the desperate, and all such whose desires were both immoderate and evill, joyfull, as wishing trouble, the gate of spoyle.

Announcement of Queen Mary's death to the Parliament.

During this tyme, a Parliament was held at London, where the Nobility of the Realme remayned with a more constant countenance, eyther as holding themselves assured, or for that they would not descend to any other seeming. When they received certaine intelligence of the death of Queene Mary, they assembled together in the upper howse, and, after a short debatement, sent to the Speaker of the Parliament, desiring him to come to them forthwith, accompanyed with the whole body of the lower house, [for that they had] to impart a matter of importance unto them. When they were come, and had setled themselves to attentione, Doctor Heath, Archbishop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncelor of England, with a composed countenance and voice, as neither glad at the death of the old Prince, nor discontented at the new, declared to them the assured advertisement of the death of the Queene: That albeit the Parliament by this heavy accident did dissolve,* yet for that they had bin elected to represent the common people

* This was the law until 1696. It was then enacted by 7 and 8 William III. cap. 15, that the Parliament in being should continue to sit for six months after the death of any King or Queen, unless sooner prorogued or dissolved by the successor. The same provision was re-enacted by 6 Anne, cap. 41 of the authentic edition, or cap. 7 of the common editions. *Vide* authentic edition, vii. 84, and viii. 738.

of the Realme, and to deale for them in matters of estate, they could noe waye better dischardge that trust, then in joyninge with the Lords to publish the next Successour to the Crowne: That the right and title of Lady Elizabeth, sister to the deceased Queene, and onely daughter then surviving of King Henry the Eighth, was esteemed by the Lords free from all quarrell, free from all questione and doubt: that in no case expeditione is more expedient, than in these high passages of State, for extinguishing as well the vayne hopes of enemyes, as the false and needelesse feares of friendes: that for this cause the Lords had desired their presence, that, with joynt consent of the whole assembly, the Lady Elizabeth might forthwith be proclaymed Queene. A. D. 1558.

The Knights and Burgesses gave easy consent to that which they sawe noe reason to deny. If happily some few had noe inclination that waye, yet, beeing unable to stay the course of so greate a current, they were content not to shew a will to affect that which they had no power to effect. Soe the same day shee was proclaymed Queene by the principall Heraalts-at-Armes—first, at the Pallace at Westminster, directly before the Hall-dore, afterwards at the Crosse in Cheape, and in other places of the Citye. This ceremony was performed upon Thursday, the seventeenth day of November, in the yeare 1558,* in the five-and-twentieth yeare of her age, when shee had been well instructed by experience and adversity, two excellent teachers for her, who had a judgment farre beyond her yeares. Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, Nov. 17th.

The same daye† Reygnold Poole, Cardinall, and not long before made Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, doubtfull whe- Death of Cardinal Poole.

* Mary died at "her Manour of Saint James by Charing Cross," (Stowe, 634) on Thursday, November the 17th, "about three or foure of the clocke in the morning." (Holinshed, iv. 137.) Elizabeth, it will be perceived, was proclaimed, and her regnal years were subsequently reckoned from that same day. (Nicolas's Chron. of Hist. 319.)

† "The same evening, or (as some have written), the next daie." Holinshed, iv. 141.

A. D. 1558. ther by naturall disease, or by violence of griefe, or by some other strange inforcement. He was one of the younger sonnes of Margaret, Countesse of Salisbury, daughter to George, Duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward the Fourth. Hee was learned and eloquent, of noe comely presence, but of good grace in delivering his speach: herewith haughty, ambitious, and vehement in the pursuite of his purposes. Whereupon, as he had been formerly impatient for not atteyning to the full degrees of his desires and hopes, so now, most of all, in fore-seeing the abatement of his honour, and the alteratione of the relligeone which hee did professe; for establishment whereof, in former times, he had practised so farr that he had reasone to conceive he could not be indured in the change.

Alteration in the Established Faith anticipated.

For the change in Religion which then insued, and had alsoe happened not long before, was easily fore-seene by men of understanding, not onely by reasone of the consciences of the Princes, formed in them by education, but alsoe out of their particular interests and endes. For King Henry the eighth had taken to wife Katherine of Arragon, who had beene formerly marryed to Prince Arthur his elder brother; for which marriage (being within the degrees expressely prohibited in Leviticus) the Bishop of Rome gave a dispensatione. Now King Henry, following the opinione of those Divines (as well Catholickes as Protestants) who judged those prohibitiones to bee naturall and morall, and that noe power uppon earth had power to grant a dispensatione against them, put away Queen Katherine, and marryed Queene Anne Bullen, whilest she still remained in life. Of this Katherine he had issue Mary; of Anne Bullen, Elizabeth. So it was a marveilous motive for Queen Mary to embrace and advance the authority of the Bishop of Rome, for that the validity of King Henryes marryage with Queene Katherine her mother, was thereupon grounded: And this hath not bin the weakest threed in the Pope's net, by dispensing in

such prohibited marriages to hoald Princes obnoxious unto him. A.D. 1558.
But on the other side, because yf the Bishop of Rome had power to dispense in the first marriage of King Henry the eyght, then was the subsequent marriage with Anne Bullen voyde; besides the command of conscience, it was alsoe an inducement in reasone for Queene Elizabeth to reject his authority. And, albeit many greate Princes doe neyther so easily resist, nor so moderately follow their desires as other men, because, by how much more they are accustomed to be honoured and obeyed, by so much lesse (advancing their wills above other respects) are they able to indure to have their purposes eyther frustrated or delayed: yet was not this alteratione brought in sodaynly (as in other places it was usually done) but by a more felt than seene manner of proceeding. Yea, some colour of hope was conceived, that noe alteratione should be made at all; for that a Proclamatione was presently set foorth,* that no man should alter any Rites or Ceremonyes at that tyme used in the Church: And, because, in such divisione of opinions, the Pulpits often serve as drummes† and fiffes, to inflame fury, Proclamatione was made, that noe man might preach, but such as should be allowed by authority: and thes alsoe were charged to forbeare treating of controversyes in Religion not to move dispute touching governement, eyther for altering or reteyning the present forme. Hereuppon no Sermon was preached at Paules.

Proclamation against altering ceremonies.

And forbidding preaching without license.

* Dated 27th December, 1558.

† Our author has here partly anticipated a celebrated simile in Hudibras—

"When gospel-trumpeter, surrounded
With long-ear'd rout, to battle sounded;
And pulpit, *drum ecclesiastic*,
Was beat with fist instead of a stick."

Dr. Grey, in his edition of Hudibras, i. 58, edit. 1806, refers to another instance of the use of the same simile in "Sir J. Birkenhead revived, p. 5."

"God bless us from *a pulpit drum*
And preaching Catiline."

A.D. 1558. Crosse, untill the Rehearsall Sermon was made upon the Sunday after Easter: at which tyme when the Preacher was ready to mount into the Pulpet, the keye could not be found: and when, by commandement of the Lord Mayor, it was opened by a smyth, the place was very filthy and uncleane. Alsoe the Ports and Havens were diligently kept, that noe man might passe forth of the Realme, or enter therein, without eyther licence or notice at the least, whereby many suspiciones and doubtes, and happily some dangeres, were prevented. Lastly, inhibitione was straightly given that no monyes should be made over by exchange for a tyme.

No Sermon at Paul's Cross until after Easter.

The Ports closed.

And, for that the presence of the Prince is of greatest moment to establish affayres, the Queene, the next day after her title was proclaimed, removed from Hatfield, in Hartfordshire, where shee then lay, towardes London; and was upon the way incountred and intertained in all places with such a concourse of people, with soe lively representationes of love, joy and hope, that it farr exceeded her expectatione. The people of all sorts (even such whose fortunes were unlike either to bee amended or impaired by change) went many myles out of the City to see her, some uppon particular affectione to her person, others upon opinione of good to the State, some uppon an ordinary levity and delight in change, and not a few because they would doe as others did; all with like fervency contending who should most neerly approach unto her, who should most cherefully bestow uppon her all honourable titles and happy wishes.

The Queen removes from Hatfield to London. Nov. 18th.

Now, if ever any persone had eyther the gift or the stile to winne the hearts of people, it was this Queene; and if ever shee did expresse the same, it was at that present, in coupling mildnesse with majesty as shee did, and in stately stouping to the meanest sort. All her facultyes were in motione, and every motione seemed a well guided actione; her eye was set upon one, her eare listened to another, her judgement ranne uppon a third, to a fourth shee ad-

Her courtesy.

dressed her speech; her spiritt seemed to be every-where, and yet so intyre in her selfe, as it seemed to bee noe where else. Some shee pityed, some shee commended, some shee thanked, at others shee pleasantly and wittily jeasted, contemning noe person, neglecting noe office; and distributing her smiles, lookes, and graces, soe artificially, that thereupon the people againe redoubled the testimonyes of their joyes; and afterwards, raising every thing to the highest straine, filled the eares of all men with immoderate extolling their Prince. A.D. 1558.

Her personal appearance, and character.

Shee was a Lady, upon whom nature had bestowed, and well placed, many of her fayrest favores; of stature meane, slender, streight, and amiably composed; of such state in her carriage, as every motione of her seemed to beare majesty: her haire was inclined to pale yellow, her foreheade large and faire, a seemeing sete for princely grace; her eyes lively and sweete, but short-sighted;* her nose somewhat rising in the middest; the whole compasse of her countenance somewhat long, but yet of admirable beauty, not so much in that which is tearmed the flower of youth, as in a most delightfull compositione of majesty and modesty in equall mixture. But without good qualityes of mynde, the gifts of nature are like paynted floweres, without eyther vertue or sappe; yea, sometymes they grow horrid and loathsome. Now her vertues were such as might suffice to make an Aethiopian beautifull, which, the more a man knowes and understands, the more he shall admire and love. In life, shee was most innocent; in desires, moderate; in purpose, just; of spirit, above credit and almost capacity of her sexe; of divine witt, as well for depth of judgment, as for quicke conceite and speedy expeditione; of eloquence, as sweete in the utterance, soe ready and easie to come to the utterance: of wonderfull knowledge both in

* Mary also was short-sighted, so much so that she could not "read, or do any thing else, without placing her eyes quite close to the object." Report of Michele the Venetian ambassador in 1557, quoted by Sir F. Madden in his Introd. to Mary's Privy Purse Expenses, p. clvi.

A. D. 1558. learning and affayres; skilfull not only in the Latine and Greeke, but alsoe in divers other forraine languages: none knew better the hardest art of all others, that is, of commanding men, nor could more use themselves to those cares without which the royall dignity could not be supported. She was relligeous, magnanimous, mercifull and just; respective of the honour of others, and exceeding tender in the touch of her owne. Shee was lovely and loving, the two principall bands of duty and obedience. Shee was very ripe and measured in counsayle and experience, as well not to lett goe occasiones, as not to take them when they were greene. Shee maintained Justice at home, and Armes abroad, with great wisdome and authority in eyther place. Her majesty seemed to all to shine though courtesy: but as shee was not easy to receive any to especiall grace, so was shee most constant to those whom shee received; and of great judgment to know to what point of greatnesse men were fit to bee advanced. Shee was rather liberall than magnificent, making good choys of the receivoures; and for this cause was thought weake by some against the desire of money. But it is certaine that beside the want of treasure which shee found, her continuall affayres in Scottland, France, the Low Countries, and in Ireland, did occasione greate provisione of money, which could not bee better supplyed, than by cutting off eyther excessive or unnecessary expence at home. Excellent Queene! what doe my words but wrong thy worth? what doe I but guild gold?* what but shew the sunne

* We have here a proof that Shakspeare's King John was written before 1612, the date of the present composition. It does not appear to have been printed until included in the first folio edition of the plays in 1623. The words referred to—

"To gild refined gold
. or with a taper light
To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish."

(King John, Act IV. scene 2), are not to be found in "the Troublesome Raigne of King John," the play which Shakspeare used in the composition of his noble drama, and which some persons have thought to be Shakspeare's first rough draft, as it were, of the play which we now possess.

with a candle, in attempting to prayse thee, whose honor doth flye over the whole world upon the two wings of Magnanimity and Justice, whose perfection shall much dimme the lustre of all other that shall be of thy sexe? I will noe longer staye upon generall descriptiones, but proceede to such particular acts as shall manifest much more than I have said. A. D. 1558.

When shee came to London, shee was lodged the first night in the Charter-howse,* where many greate persones, eyther for birth, or worthinesse, [or place in the State,] resorted unto her; and now, rising from dejected feares to ambitious hopes, contended who should catch the first hold of her favour. The Queene did beare her selfe moderately and respectively to all, desiring them, if they would not be deceived in her, that they would not be the first to deceive themselves: that they would not prejudice her in their opiniones, as not by uncourteous suspicions and doubts, so not by immoderate expectationes and hopes, promisinge unto themselves out of a suddayne likeing more then is fitt, or peradventure possible, to be performed: the fayleance whereof would eyther change or abate theyr loves: that they would lay aside all fore-taken con- Lodges at the Charter House.

* She occupied "the Lord North's House" in the Charter House. (Holinshed, iv. 156.) The same mansion which was afterwards the town residence of the Duke of Norfolk, beheaded in 1571. The dates of Elizabeth's movements at this period are very unsettled. According to Hayward, she removed from Hatfield to the Charter House on the 18th November. Holinshed dates the same removal on "the three-and-twentieth of November" (*ibid.*); and Stowe on the nineteenth (p. 635). A Letter, printed in the appendix to Strype's Annals i. No. ii., and since in Lodge's Illustrations (i. 301, edition 1791), determines in favour of the 23rd, the day mentioned by Holinshed. The Citizen's Journal, also, so much used by Strype (Cot. MS. Vitellius, F. v.), contains, at fol. 94 verso, the following entry—"The xxiij. day of November the Queen Elsabeth's grace toke here gorney from Hadley, beyond Barnett, toward London unto my Lord North's place." The mention of this journal affords an opportunity, which I cannot let slip, of directing the attention of antiquaries to the admirable manner in which it has been repaired, bound and illustrated, under the direction of Sir Frederick Madden. It is one proof, amongst many, of the zeal and efficiency with which that gentleman executes his office at the Museum.

A. D. 1558. ceits, which, like painted glasse, doth colour all things which are seene through it. Lastly, that they would not too rashly judge of her actions, as being privie neither to the occasiones of them, nor to their endes.

Removes to the Tower. So, after shee had passed the offices of court done to her by the Nobility and others, the day following,* in the afternoone, shee rode from thence to the Tower. At the Charter-howse gate the Mayor of the city met her, and the Recorder with a short speech saluted her in the name of the whole city. Shee rode in great state through Barbican, the Mayor riding with Garter King at Armes, and carrying a Scepter before her: shee entered † at Cripplegate, and so passed by the Wall to Bishoppes-gate. This gate was richly hanged, and thereuppon the Wayts of the City sounded loud Musicke. At the head of the streete a scholler of Paul's Schoole made to her a short speach in Latine Verses; next unto him stood the Company of Mercers within their rayles, and after them all the other Companyes, extending to the furthest end of Mart lane. When she entred Mart lane a peale of ordnance began at the Tower, which continued halfe an hour or thereabouts. The presence of the Queene gave perfectione and life to all thes solemnityes. Shee answeared such speaches as wer made unto her; shee graced every persone eyther of dignity or employment; shee soe cheerfully both observed and accepted every thing, that in the judgement of all men, all these honours were esteemed too meane for her worth. When shee was entred into the Tower, shee thus spake to those about her: "Some have fallen from being Princes of this land, to be prisoners in this place; I am raysed from beeing prisoner in this

* Here again there is great discrepancy amongst the authorities as to the date of this removal. Hayward's date is the 19th November; Holinshed's the 28th; Stowe does not give any date, but says that she stayed "many dayes" at the Charter House (p. 635).

† Holinshed says that, "taking her chariot," her grace "removed from my Lord North's House alongst Barbican, and entring by Cripplegate into the citie, kept along the wall to Bishopsgate, and so by Bleach Chapelton unto Mark Lane." (fv. 136.)

place, to bee Prince of this land. That dejectione was a worke of God's justice; this advancement is a worke of his mercy; as they were to yeeld patience for the one, so I must beare my selfe towards God thankfull, and to men mercifull and beneficiall for the other." A. D. 1558.

This place was prepared for her aboade, both with furniture and officers of assurance and credite; with the Lievetenaunt of the Tower two of trust were joyned in Commission, one skilfull to put the house in order, the other to make provision of dictt. Soe shee remained here untill the fift day of December, and then remooved, by barge, to Somerset-howse, in the Strand. And thence to Somerset House. December 5th.

In the meane tyme certaine Commissioners were appoynted for the Funerall of the deceased Queene, others for the Coronatione that was to ensue. New Commissiones were sent into Walles, and the Marches of the North. Thomas Earle of Sussex* [was appointed for Ireland, who] with a garrison of three hundred twenty horse, and eight hundred sixty foote, kept that country eyther in obedience, or awe. New Commissions were made to the Judges of the Law, to continue only untill the end of that Terme; but with exceptione, that they should not in the meane time bestow any offices. All the Counsellers in the State who had served Queene Mary, and favoured the Religeone then established,† were againe admitted to their proper places. To these were adjoyned William Parre, Marquesse of Northampton, Francis The Queen's Council.

* "Essex," in MS. fol. 114.

† These councillors were Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester and Lord Treasurer, Henry Fits Alan, Earl of Arundel, Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Edward Lord Clinton, Lord High Admiral, William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir William Petre, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackville, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton. (Camden. Annal. p. 18, Edit. 1615). Sir Thomas Cheyney, one of the number, and Treasurer of the Household, survived his late mistress only until the 8th December: his liberality and many other excellent qualities are recorded in Holinshed, iv. 157.

A.D. 1558. Russell, Earle of Bedford, Thomas Parre, Edward Rogeres, Ambrose Cave, Francis Knolles, and William Cecill, and, soon after, Nicholas Bacon, men of assured understanding and truth, and well affected to the Protestant Relligeon. All these the Queene ruled with such moderation, as shee was never obnoxious to any of them, and all devoted and addicted to her.

New Justices and Sheriffes were appoynted in every shire, and Writs went foorth to summon a Parliament, againyst the time of Coronation. Ambassadours were appoynted to the Pope, to the Emperour, and other Princes of Germany, to the French King, to the King of Spaine, to the King of Denmarke, and to the State of Venice, to renue leagues, to remove all prejudice that might be conceived, to performe unto them openly all ceremonyes of State, and secretly to search into their inclinationes. The Ambassadour into Spain had further in charge, to make a thankfull acknowledgement in the name of the Queene, of all the honourable offices which the King did unto her whilest hee was married to Queene Mary her sister. The Ambassadour into Rome interteyned many treaties with the Pope. The Pope desired above all things, that Relligeon should not be changed in England. This did not the Ambassadour eyther obstinately deny, or any wayes grant; but it could not bee assured he said, unlesse the Pope would first declare to his Catholickes, that the marriage of the Queene's mother with King Henry was lawfull. This crosse request so stumbled the Conclave, that they made choyse rather to doe nothing, than to doe that which they were not assured they should not repent.

Ambassadors appointed to the Pope and other foreign States.

Uppon the thirteenth of December the body of Queene Mary was honourably conveyed from Saint Jeames, where she died, to the Abbey of Westminster, and there placed under a rich Herse, where it remayned that night. The next daye, after a Masse of Requiem, and a Sermon, preached by Doctor White, Bishop of Winchester, shee was buried on the North side of the Chappell,

Corpse of Queen Mary removed to Westminster, Dec. 13th.

Interred Dec. 14th.

built by King Henry the Seventh. Upon the foure and twentieth of December a solemne obsequie was kept in the same Abbey, Queene Maryes Herse yet standing covered with a rich pall-cloth of gold, for Charles the fift, Emperour, who dyed in September next before; in which solemnity the Emperors Ambassadour was cheife mourner. A.D. 1558. A soleman obsequy for Charles V. Dec. 24th.

All this tyme no change was made, none attempted, in matters of Relligeone, only a preparatione thereto was made, by changing some officers both in Houshold and in State. Among thes, Doctor Heath, Archbishopp of Yorke, was removed from being Lord Chancelour of England, a man of most eminent and generous simplicity, who esteemed any thing privately unlawfull, which was not publicklye beneficiall and good. But as it is noe new thing for merchants to breake, for saylers to be drowned, for soldiers to be slayn; so is it not for men in authority to fall. Hee was the last cleargie man, who during the Queenes life did beare the honour of that place. In his steade Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight, was made Lord Keepour of the great seale of England,* a man of greate diligence and ability in his place, whose goodnesse preserved his greatnesse from suspicion, envye and hate. Sir Nic. Bacon appointed Lord Keeper.

But, upon the last of December, Proclamatione was published, that in all Churches the Letany, the Epistle and the Gospell, should be reade in the English tongue, according as it was used in the Queenes Chappell; which, the daye following, being Sundaye, was done in all the Churches within London, and neere unto it. And, as this was the first act of the alteratione which ensued, soe was it most plausible to the people. Proclamation for reading the Litany in English, Dec. 31st.

The common people at that time conceived a hard opinione against the Clergy (howsoever, blinded with selfe-love, they perswaded themselves that they wer loved) and charged them with Unpopularity of the Clergy.

* The Seal was committed to Sir Nicholas, or rather to Nicholas Bacon, for he was not knighted until afterwards, on the 23rd December, 1558.

A.D. 1558. many imputationes, mens tongues being alwayes prone to taunt their superiores; and the worst speaking worst, hoping to shadow themselves under the blemishes of their betters. Some charged them with cruelty, in persecuting more to death for the cause of Relligeone, in five yeares during Queene Maryes reigne, then had bene executed in thirty-seven yeares under King Henry the eight. Some taxed them with covetousnesse, some with pride; vices happily observed in some, and maliciously extended to all. But all men were heard to murmurre and complayne, that not onely the Scriptures, but the publick prayeres were concealed from their understanding, as if thereby they were excluded (almost) from the condition of beeing Christianes, in that they wer not permitted to heare God by the one, nor to speake to him by the other. And, as in other countryes thes had bene the principall pretenses of defection from the Church of Rome, soe here this first morsell of Prayer and Scripture in the English toungue was not only most sweetly swallowed by the common people, but also served for a preparatione to the further change which afterwardes ensued.

A.D. 1559. The Queen removes from Westminster to the Tower, Jan. 12th, 1559.

Upon the twelfth of January the Queene removed by water from Westminster to the Tower, attended with the Mayor, Aldermen, and other Cytizens in their Barges, adorned with Scutchions, and Banners of their Mysteryes, and sounding lowd musick all the way. Shee passed under the Bridge about one of the clocke in the afternoone, and landed upon the privy stayres at the Tower, from whence the Mayor and his Company returned to the Three Craynes in the Vine-tree.* The day following, Sir William Parre, Knight, was created Marquesse of Northampton,† Edward Sey-

Creation of Peers, Jan. 13th.

* "The Three Cranes in the Vintry" was the name of a wharf set apart for the landing of wines, the cranes being the machines used for that purpose. Vide Pennant's London, p. 466, edit. 1813.

† Vide the patent for his creation, Fœdera, xv. 496. This nobleman, the brother of Queen Catharine Parr, was created Baron Parr of Kendal, and, afterwards, Earl of Essex, by Henry VIII. and in the 1st of Edward VI. was advanced to the title of Mar-

mor was made Viscount Beauchampe, and Earle of Hartford,* Lord Thomas Howard was made Viscount of Bindon,† Sir Oliver Saint John, Knight, Lord Saint John of Bletso,‡ Sir Henry Carew, Knight, Lord Carew of Hunsden.§ Assuredly, as this Queene was not prodigall in any thing, soe was shee most sparing in distributione of honor, whereby shee advanced it to a very high valuatione with all men. A.D. 1559.

Upon the fourteenth day of January, in the afternoon, shee passed from the Tower through the City of London to Westminster, most royally furnished, both for her persone and for her trayne, knowing right well that in pompous ceremonies a secret of government doth much consist, for that the people are naturally both taken and held with exteriour shewes. The Nobility and Gentlemen wer very many, and noe lesse honourably furnished. The rich attire, the ornaments, the beauty of Ladyes, did add particular graces to the solemnity, and held the eyes and hearts of men dazeled betweene contentment and admiratione. When shee

The Queen passes from the Tower to Westminster preparatory to her Coronation, Jan. 14th.

quis of Northampton. He forfeited his honours in the 1st of Mary in consequence of his adherence to Lady Jane Grey, and was sentenced to death, but pardoned. The present creation restored him to the rank he held at the death of Edward VI.

* This was the eldest son of the Protector Somerset, and the same nobleman who afterwards married Lady Catharine Grey. The present creation was, like the former, a restoration, although, unlike that, it was only an incomplete one.

† Lord Thomas Howard was second son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1554, and younger brother of the Earl of Surrey. His patent of creation is in the Fœdera, xv. 495.

‡ The reason for the grant of the peerage to this gentleman does not appear. He was a lawyer, and probably a zealous Protestant.

§ Henry Carey, not Carew, Lord Hunsdon, was the Queen's peer upon this creation. He was her cousin, being the only son of Mary Boleyn, her mother's sister. Catharine, his sister, the only other issue of Mary Boleyn married Sir Francis Knolles, a sincere Protestant, who was much trusted by Elizabeth, but never ennobled, although he received the order of the Garter. Some judicious observations upon the sparing way in which Elizabeth granted the honours of the state to her maternal relations will be found in the volume of Anecdotes and Traditions recently published by the Camden Society, p. 16.

A.D. 1559. tooke her coach within the Tower, she made a solemne thanksgiving to God, that he had delivered her noe lesse mercifully, noe lesse mightily from her imprisonment in that place, then he had delivered Daniell from the lyones denne: that hee had preserved her from those dangers wherwith shee was both invironed and overwhelmed, to bring her to the joye and honour of that daye. As shee passed through the City, nothing was omitted to doe her the highest honours, which the Citizens (whoe could procure good use both of purses and inventiones) were able to perfourme. It were the part of an idle orator, to describe the Pageants, the Arkes,* and other well devised honoures done unto her; the order, the beauty, the majestie of this actione, the high joye of some, the silence and reverence of other, the constant contentment of all; their untired patience never spent, eyther with long expecting (some of them from a good part of the night before) or with unsatiable beholding the Ceremonies of that day.

Her pleasing behaviour. The Queene was not negligent on her part to descend to all pleasing behavior, which seemed to proceede from a naturall gentlenesse of dispositione, and not from any strayned desire of popularity or insinuatione. Shee gave due respect to all sorts of persones, wherein the quicknesse of her spirit did worke more actively than did her eyes. When the people made the ayre ring with praying to God for her prosperity, shee thanked them with exceeding livelinesse both of countenance and voyce, and wished neither prosperity nor safety to her selfe, which might not bee for their common good. As she passed by the Companyes of the City, standing in their liveryes, shee tooke particular knowledge of them, and graced them with many witty formalityes of speech. Shee diligently both observed and commended such devises as were presented unto her, and to that end sometimes caused her coach to

* i. e. the arches. A very full account of the whole of this interesting progress may be found in Hollinshed, iv. 156-175, and another in Nichols's Progresses, vol. i.

stand still, sometimes to be removed to places of best advantage for hearing and for sight; and in the mean time fairely intreated the people to be silent. And when shee understoode not the meaning of any representatione, or could not perfectly heare some speeches that wer made, shee caused the same to be declared unto her. When the Recorder of the City* presented to her a purse of crimson sattin, very richly and curiously wrought, and therein a thousand markes in gold, with request that shee would continue a gracious Mistris to the City; Shee answered, That shee was bound in a naturall obligatione so to doe, not soe much for ther gold, as for ther good wills: that as they had beene at great expence of treasure that daye, to honour her passage, so all the dayes of her life shee would be ready to expend not only her treasure, but the dearest dropps of her bloode, to maintayne and increase ther flourishing estate. When shee espyed a Pageant at the Little Conduite in Cheape, shee demanded (as it was her custome in the rest) what should be represented therein: Answeare was made, that Time did there attend for her: "Time? (sayd she) How is that possible, seeing it is tyme that hath brought mee hither?" Here a Bible in English richly covered was let downe unto her by a silk lace from a child that represented Truth. Shee kissed both her hands, with both her hands shee received it, then shee kissed it: afterwardes applyed it to her brest: and lastly held it up, thanking the City especially for that gift, and promising to be a diligent reader thereof. When any good wishes were cast forth for her vertuous and religious government, shee would lift up her hands towards Heaven, and desire the people to answer, Amen. When it was told her that an auncient Citizen turned his heade backe and wept: "I warrant you" (said shee) "it is for joy;" and so in very deede it was. Shee cheerfully received not

A.D. 1559.

Receives a purse of 1000 marks.

And a Bible.

* "The ryght worshippfull Master Ranulph Cholmelie." Holinshed, iv. 167. He died April 25th, 1563. Vide Collectanea Topog. et Geneal. iv. 102, 112.

A.D. 1559. only rich giftes from persons of worth, but Nosegayes, Floweres, Rose-marie branches, and such like presents, offered unto her from very meane persones, insomuch as it may truly be saide, that there was neyther courtesy nor cost cast away that daye uppon her. It is incredible how often shee caused her coach to staye, when any made offer to approach unto her, whither to make petitione, or whither to manifest their loving affectiones.

Effect of her behaviour upon the people. Hereby the people, to whom no musicke is soe sweete as the affability of ther Prince, were so strongly stirred to love and joye, that all men contended how they might most effectually testify the same; some with plausible acclamations, some with sober prayers, and many with silent and true-hearted teares, which were then seen to melt from their eyes. And afterwardes, departing home, they so stretched every thing to the highest streyne, that they inflamed the like affectiones in otheres. It is certaine, that thes high humilities, joyned to justice, are of greater power to winne the hearts of people than any, than all other vertues beside. All other vertues are expedient for a Prince, all are advised, but thes are necessary, thes are enjoyned; without many other a Prince may stand, but without thes upon every occasione he standes in danger.

Her Coronation, Jan. 13th. The day following, being Sundaye,* shee was, with all accustomed ceremonyes, crowned in the Abbey Church at Westminster; having made demonstration of soe many Princely vertues before, that all men wer of opinione that one crowne was not sufficient to adorne them.

The Coronation ended, shee passed in greate state to Westminster Hall, and ther dined.

* Holinshed, whose Chronicle is about this period generally pretty accurate in dates, mistakes the day of Elizabeth's coronation. He makes it "Sundaie the five and twentith of Januarie," (iv. 176) instead of "Sunday the fifteenth." Fabyan states the day correctly (p. 722).

During thes tymes a Parliament had bene summoned to begin at Westminster upon the twenty-fifth day of this month of January. A.D. 1559. Parliament summoned.

And now wer certaine Divines returned from beyond the Seas, who in the tyme of Queene Mary forsooke the Realme uppon conscience for Relligione, and (with no lesse magnanimity despising honours, then others did affect them,) remained voluntarie exiles untill the tyme of her death, some distressed with dangeres, others assured by obscurity and contempt, none of them wanting abundance of want. These wer exceedingly both favoured and followed by the common people, who, having litle knowledge to judge of knowledge, did out of affectione immoderately extoll their learning and vertue, supposing that for the one they could not err themselves, and for the other they would not seduce others. Between thes and the Prelates of the Realme a publicke conference was agreed to be held concerning poynts of controversie in Religione. By the Prelates nine persones were appointed, five Bishopps and fowre Doctores,* men for the most part mellowed in contemplacione, a glorious title to shadow sloath. On the other side were appointed, Doctor Scory, Doctor Coxe, Doctor Sands, Master Whitehead, Master Grindall, Master Horne, Master Guest, Master Elmer, and Master Jewell, men esteemed the more worthy of advancement, because they seemed nothing to desire it; of most of whom some-

Return of the Protestant Divines from beyond seas.

Conference concerning controverted points in Religion.

* Burnet (Reform. ii. 494, edit. 1825) says, that the Bishops of Winchester, Lichfield, Chester, Carlisle, and Lincoln, and Doctors Cole, Harpsfield, Langdale, and Chedsey were the disputants on the side of the Roman Catholics; but it appears from the authorised account of the conference printed by the Queen's printer, and which is introduced into Stowe, p. 637, and is also printed in Burnet's Appendix, vol. ii. part ii. p. 411, that there were but eight divines on each side. The Bishop of Carlisle, on the side of the Roman Catholics, and Doctor Sands, on that of the Reformers, were present, but were not appointed to take part in the conference; nor was the celebrated John Feckenham, at that time Abbot of Westminster, who was also present, and is stated in the report to have conducted himself with a very praiseworthy moderation.

A.D. 1559. what shall be said in particular hereafter. The place was prepared in Westminster Church, where a table was sett for the Bishopps and ther associates uppon one side of the Quire, and another table for the opposites on the other side. At the upper end a table was placed whereat the Queenes Councell should sit. The residue of the Nobility and others of the Parliament were appoynted to bee present, for satisfactione of their consciences, and for directione of their judgments (as it was sayde) touching such poyntes of Religeone as were to be treated and concluded in the Parliament. The Articles propounded agaynst the Bishopps and ther adherents were these:

Articles propounded for discussion.

1. That it is against the word of God, and the custome of the auncient Church, to use a toungue unknowen to the people in Common Prayer, and in the administratione of the Sacraments.

2. That every Church hath authority to appoynt, take awaye, and change Ceremonyes and Ecclesiasticall Rites, soe the same be to edificatione.

3. That it cannot be proved by the Word of God, that ther is in the Masse offered upp a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the living and the deade.

Now for the manner of this conference, the Bishoppes requested that it might be perfourmed in writing. This was easily yeelded unto, for that in disputatione by words, besides confusiones, besides digressiones, which are often occasioned, the truth many tymes, eyther by boldnesse of spirit, or by nimblenesse of wit, or by strength, or by readinesse, or smoothnesse of speech, or else by some pleasing gesture and behaviour, is eyther altogether overborne or much obscured. Hereupon the Apostle sayth, To contend with words is profitable to nothing but onely to the subversione of the hearers. Soe it was ordered, that the Bishoppe, because they were superioures in dignity, should first declare ther opiniones, and the reasones of them in writing, and that their opposites

the same daye should doe the like: That eyther party should deliver a coppy of ther writing to the other; That yf they would make any answeare thereto agaynst another daye, which should bee appoynted, they should prepare the same in writing: that all this should be perfourmed in the English toungue. A. D. 1559.

Upon the first day of ther meeting, which was Fridaye the last of March, in the foorenoone, both parties appeared and tooke their place; but the Bishopps brought nothing in writing. This did greatly displease the heareres, and mooved many to breake forth into open shew of discontentment. The Bishopps excused themselves that they had mistaken the order, but they wer ready to dispute (they sayde) and, for that time, came to declare their myndes by speech. The Lords of the Councell wer much vexed at this variatione; yet their wisdome held their thoughts so well repressed, that the Bishopps might rather suspect than discerne that they were offended. At the last, they wer permitted, without any greate reproofe, to declare by speach what they had to say touching the first Article, under promise that they should reduce their speech into writing, and, according to the first order, deliver the same to the other party. First Meeting of the Conference. March 31st.

Then Doctor Cole, Deane of Paules, made a large declaratione concerning the first poynt; partly by speech onely, and partly by reading authorities, which he had written. He spent so much speech in commending divers persones, in insisting upon former generall determinationes of the same doubts, and uppon other circumstances of winning favour, and so sleightly slipped over the substance of the cause, that many compared him to men unwisely liberall, more forward to give presents then to pay debts.

When he had ended, the Lords of the Councell demanded if any of them had more to saye: whereto answeare was returned, "Noe." Then the other party, after a short prayer, with a protestation to stand to the doctrine of the Catholique Church,

A. D. 1559. grounded uppon the Scriptures, exhibited a written booke which was distinctly read by Master Horne, sometyme Deane of Duresme. This done, some of the Bishoppes began to affirme, that they had much more to saye to the first Article.

Hereuppon it was ordered, that uppon Mundaye then next ensuing both parties should bring in writing what they thought fitt touching the second Article, and the third, if they could, which, being openly reade, either party should deliver the same writings to the other: That in the meane time they should put that into writing which Doctor Cole had spoken that day [and whatsoever they thought fit to adde thereto]: that they should send the same forthwith to the other partie, and should againe receive of them that which Master Horne had read: that at the next meeting a daye should bee appoynted to exhibite answeares touching the first Article. To thes orderes both sides agreed, and soe the assembly dissolved for that tyme.

Second Meeting of the Conference. April 3rd. Mundaye being come, and the place of assembly both with Actors and Auditores fully furnished, the Bishopps (for what cause they would not discover, and therefore was it conjectured at the worst,) refused eyther to reade, or exhibit, any thing in writing touching the second Article, as it had beene appoynted: but sayd, that they would reade onely to the first, pretending, that albeit they had spoken to that question the daye before, yet they should bee disadvantaged if they should not reade also that which they had conceived in writing. This was granted, upon conditione, that when they had done, they should also proceede to the second question: but then they refused to begin to any Article, pretending that their adversaries maintained the affirmative, and that it was contrary to the order of schooles, that they who maintayned the negative should beginne.

The Lord Keeper did, first with wordes of amity and office, fayrely intreate, then earnestly, and, at the last, sharpely require

them, not to stand upon the order of Schooles, but to performe that order whereunto both they had consented, and were injoyned. This they absolutely refused, with such high behavior, such vayne surmises and evasiones, as they seemed litle to regard eyther the honourable presence, or their owne reputatione, or the creditt of the cause. The Lords pressed them to declare the reasones of their refusall, least happely they should be taken to be worse then they wer. The Bishops affirmed that they did it for many reasones; but not expressing any one, they condemned themselves by their owne silence, eyther that they had noe reasones at all, or that they feared to have them disclosed. A. D. 1559.

Thus the assembly was dissolved, the expectatione frustrated, the purpose disappointed. The Lord Keeper at his departure said, "Seeing you are not willing that we should heare you, it is likely that shortly you shall heare of us." Confe-rence dis-solved.

The people discoursed diversly hereof, disagreeing noe lesse in fancy than in face. Some disallowed disputationes in this cause, where the victory is carried by the swaye of the state; others disliked the manner of the disputatione, that men should meete together to contend by writing. But most of all condemned the Bishopps, who first desired, then approved, and, in the end, resisted, this manner of disputing. And the more obscure the causes wer the greater did they seeme, and the more strange constructiones were made of them, their silence being imputed by most men rather to pride then eyther modesty or feare. It is very probable that the Bishopps could eyther not be provided in soe short a time, their myndes being somewhat clogged with former pleasures and present cares; or else, that they discerned such an inclinatione against them that all their hopes did playnely vanish. And, beeing men noe more able to indure adversity then they had been to moderate prosperity (both which proceede from the same strength of mynd), they weakely yielded, and, abandoning both their creditt and cause, gave full waye to their owne ruine. Discourses of the people.

A. D. 1559. Afterwards the Bishoppes of Winchester and of Lincolne, who behaved themselves (especially Lincolne) more indiscreetly than otheres, wer, for this contempt, committed to the Tower. All the residue, except the Abbot of Westminster (who was more respective and appliable then the rest) stoode bound to make their personall appearance before the Lords of the Councell, and not to depart the City of London and Westminster untill farther order should be taken with them.* Many of the common sorte wer well pleased with this disgrace, not soe much for any particular grievaunces, not soe much for the publicke cause of difference in relligeone, as out of a weakenesse and hastenesse of mynd, which joyeth to see any hard happ happen to them whoe are extreme happy.

Proceedings against the Clergy.

After this the parliament proceeded, the patience of the multitude beeing wearyed, and almost spent, with the expectatione of some change. And now the Catholicke party was much weakened, partly by the restraint of some Bishopps, mentioned before, and by the death of other, which was a mayne mayme to that side, and, partly, by suspending of certayne greate officeres from the executione of their places, for qualificatione whereof a proclamatione was published that ther was no meaning to displace them, but onely to examine ther abuses, whereof some should be judged in the parliament, other reserved to inferiour courtes, and some very like to be pardoned. But on the Protestants' party the assembly was made strong, as well by the electione of Knights and Burgesses as by creating certayne Barones whose devotione was that waye setled.

Suspension of public officers and proclamation respecting the same.

And yet there wanted neyther will, nor industrious indeavour, in many, to reteyne still the forme of religeone which in Queene

* Ultimately the Bishop of Lichfield was fined £238 6s. 8d.; the Bishop of Carlisle £250; the Bishop of Chester 200 marks; Dr. Cole 500 marks; Dr. Harpsfield £40; and Dr. Chedsey 40 marks. Strype's Annals, i. 96, edit. 1725.

Maryes tyme had beene observed. Among others Doctor Story shewed himselfe soe bould, yea rash, yea furious and madd, that it was sufficient to have discredited a good cause; for, beeing charged with some cruell severity, which he had used for matters of religione, he denyed it not, but affirmed, playnly, that he had done nothing which as well his conscience as his commissione did not both warrant and discharge; that he was noe lesse ready at that tyme to doe the like, in case he had the like authority; that he was soe farr from beeing ashamed for any thing he had done, that he was sorry he had done noe more; that the fault thereof was not in him but in otheres, whom he much blamed for the same; that they laboured onely in lopping small twiggs, but his advice was, to strike at the roote; that as a March sunne is of sufficient force to rayse stormes, but altogether unable to dispell them, soe theire tepiditie did onely serve to stirre uncivill humores, but was too feeble to consume them; that he had beene at the burning of an earewigg at Uxbridge (for soe he tearmed one Denby who had ther suffered death) and that he threw a fagott at his face, as he was singing of a psalme, and sett a bush of thornes at his feete, a litle to pricke him, but this was nothing avayleable to the cause; that his advise was to plucke at men of higher degree; that this had beene wisely and well done indeede; this might have kept downe the contrary factione; this might have secured the cause. These speaches and other of the same temper wer by some adjudged to proceede from zeale, by other from frenzy, both which I deeme to be true, for zeale without discretione is nothing else but a degree or resemblance of frenzy. A. D. 1559. Conduct of Doctor Story.

On the other side many invectives wer made, both against the Clergy, and the Councell whoe guided affayres in the time of Queene Mary, and, namely, for misapplying and diminishing the revenues of the Crowne; for continuall exactiones fruitlessly Complaints against the Clergy and the Council of Queen Mary.

A. D. 1559. expended; for dividing among themselves the possessiones and offices of the Kingdome, especially during the sicknesse of Queene Mary; for seeking the destructione of Queene Elizabeth, at leaste to defeate her of successione; for bringing the Spaniard into the realme, whereby rebelliones wer occasioned, to the overthrow of many men both of nobility and worth, whereby the realme was spoyled of many sowles, and spent much upon his intertainment, whereby it was much ingaged in his warres, spent therein millions of treasure, and lost Callice, the glory of England.

Settlement of the Book of Common Prayer.

After many like contentiones, not without violence, and sharpenesse of humor, after much debatement alsoe among the Protestantes themselves, a forme of publicke prayers, and of administratione of the sacraments, in the English tongue, was agreed uppon, and authorized to be used in churches, not much varying from that which had been used in the tyme of King Edward the Sixt. All persones were enjoyned to resort unto theire parish church uppon Sundayes and holy-dayes, during the time this common-prayer should be used, and greate penaltyes injoyned for such as should eyther deprave, or not observe, the orderes prescribed in that booke.* Likewise the nominatione of Bishoppes, and the first fruites and tenthes of Ecclesiasticall livinga, wer agayne restored to the Crowne.†

The people enjoyned to go to Church.

The Queen declared to be Head of the Church.

The supreame authoritie over Ecclesiasticall persones and affayres within the realme, which Queene Mary had resigned to the pope, was agayne annexed to the Crowne;‡ for it was held to derogate from sovereigne Majestie, to infeeble both the dignity and authority of a royall state, if the consciences and soules of a prince's subjects should be commanded by a forreine prince. Because, by commanding their consciences and soules, he might

* By stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 2. Auth. edition, iv. 355.

† By stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 4, and cap. 19. Auth. edition, iv. 350, and 381.

‡ By stat. 1 Eliz. cap 1. Auth. edition, iv. 350.

easily command both ther bodyes and estates to what endes he pleased. Hereuppon the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, and diverse otheres, to the number of xiij or xiiij, wer shortly after called before the Queenes Councell, and, because they refused to take the oath which was established for acknowledgment of this supremacy in the Queene, they wer removed from ther dignityes, and some of them committed to prison. And, with thes, diverse others of the Clergy, for the same cause, wer deprived. A. D. 1559. Prelates and Clergy deprived for refusing to take the Oath to the Supremacy.

And soe, in place of Cardinall Poole, succeeded Matthew Parker, in the sea of Canterbury.* In place of Doctor Heath succeeded Doctor Yonge, in the sea of Yorke. In steade of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was made Bishopp of London: for Hopton, Thurleby, Tunstall, Pates, Christopherson, Peto, Coates, Morgan, Feasy, White, Oglethorpe, Doctor Parkhurst was placed in Norwich, Doctor Coxe in Elie, Jewell in Salisburie, Doctor Pilkington in Duresme, Sandes in Worcester, Bentom in Coventrie and Lichfield, David in Saint Davies, Ally in Excester, Horne in Winchester, Scory in Hereford, Beast in Carlile, Bullingham in Lincolne, Scamler in Peterborough, Bartlet in Bath, Gest in Rochester, and other dignityes alsoe by otheres wer supplied.

* All the Bishops then alive refused to take the oath of supremacy, except only Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff—"sedis suæ calamitatem" (Camden. Annal. p. 36). All the lists of the deprived Bishops differ; the following, I believe, to be a correct one:—Heath, Archbishop of York (Fœd. xv. 599); Bonner, Bishop of London (ibid. 532); Thirleby, of Ely (ibid. 537); Pates, of Worcester (ibid. 549, 553); Watson, of Lincoln (ibid. 549); Goldwell, of St. Asaph (ibid. 551); White, of Winchester (ibid. 552); Bayne, of Lichfield and Coventry (ibid. 555); Morgan, of St. David's (ibid. 561); Bourne, of Bath and Wells (ibid.); Oglethorpe, of Carlisle (ibid. 577); Turbevil, of Exeter (ibid. 579); Tunstall, of Durham (ibid. 605); Poole, of Peterborough (ibid. 606). Although I refer to the Fœdera in proof of this list, the documents there published are not to be exclusively relied upon. The Bishoprick of Worcester, for instance, is stated to be vacant by deprivation, as was the fact, at p. 549, by death at p. 559, and again by deprivation at p. 553; and Hereford is said, at p. 551, to be vacant by death, and at p. 574 by deprivation.

A. D. 1559.

Suppression of religious houses.

Further, the landes, and other possessiones, of all religious houses which had bene dissolved under the reigne of King Henry the VIII[th]. and of Edward the Sixth, were confirmed to the Queene. And those houses which had beene eyther erected, or else restored, and repayred, by Queene Mary; as the Priory of Saint John of Jerusalem, by Smythfeild; the Nunnes and Bretheren of Sion, or Sheene; the Blackfryers, in Smythfeild; and the Fryeres, at Greenwich; wer agayne suppressed.* In stead of the Abbot and Monkes at Westminster it was ordeyned that a Deane, Prebendes, and Canonnes should ther be placed, under the name of the Colledge of Westminster.

Zeal of the people in the destruction of images.

Lastly, certayne articles wer published towching matteres of religione, and Commissioneres (for whose authority a speciall acte was made†) to visitt every diocesse in the realme, and to establish religione according to the same articles. The orderes which the Commissioneres sett wer both imbraced and executed with greate fervency of the common people; especially in beating downe, breakinge, and burning images, which had been erected in the churches, declaring themselves noe lesse disorder'd in defacing of them then they had been immoderate and excessive in adoring them before; yea, in many places, walls wer rased, windowes wer dashed downe, because some images (little regarding what) were paynted on them. And not onely images, but rood-loftes, relickes, sepulchres, bookes, banneres, coopes, vestmenta, altar-cloathes wer, in diverse places, committed to the fire, and that with such shouting, and applause of the vulgar sort, as if it had beene the sacking of some hostile city. Soe difficult it is when men runn out of one extreeme not to runn into the other, but to make a stable staye in the meane. The extreemes in religion are superstitione and prophan[iti]e, eyther negligence, or

* By stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 24. Auth. edition, iv. 397.

† Stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 1, sec 8. Auth. edition, iv. 332.

contempt: betweene which extreames it is extreamly hard to hold the meane. A. D. 1559.

Violent tempest in London.

Not many dayes after this fyring of images and church ornaments in London, a mightie tempest did rise, which continued about three howres; in the end whereof a thunder clapp and flash of lightening brake foorth more feareful then any that wer before; and, at the very same instant, one of the South doors, and alsoe the vestrie doore, of Saint Dionyse Church, in Fanchurch Streete, wer beaten thorough and brooken. Likewise the spire of Allhallow church, in Breed Streete, being then of stone, was smitten aboute ten foote beneath the topp, from which place a stone was strucke that slew a dogg and overthrew a man with whom the dogg played. The accident was at that time esteemed prodigious by some whose affections rann with a bias, onely because it ensued soe greate actiones of change.

The Queen's endeavours after popularity.

Whilst this mutatione was in working the Queene was not negligent to winne the love of London, by supporting the liberties of the City; to gayne the good will of the Countrie, by erecting a military discipline in every shire, and by giving pensiones and preferments to men of actione; which wrought exceeding both contentement and assurance, to all the realme; alsoe to hold men of worth in expectatione and hope, by taking a list of the most worthy men in every kind, with such alsoe who had served her father, brother, or sister; whoe were fitted eyther with advancement or suites, agreeable both to their quality and meritt; lastly, to procure favour from the common people, by relieving them against the exactiones of inferior officeres, not onely by setting downe strict orderes against their abuses, but by severe executiones of them. In so much as, by speciall appoyntement from herselfe, a purveiour (which sort of officers since the destruction of wolves have been reputed the most noisome and vile vermin in the realme,) who had taken smelts for her provisione, and sold them agayne at a higher price, was sett three dayes upon the

Punishment of a fraudulent purveyor.

A. D. 1559. pillory in Cheapside, a bawdricke * of smelts about his necke, and uppon his foorehead a paper containing an inscriptione of his offence. Upon the last day one of his eares should have beene slitt, but, by intreaty of the Lord Mayor, that part of his punishment was exchanged for a long imprisonment.

Modes adopted to procure money.

And, because money is the very spiritt and life of actiones, whether peaceable or of armes, as without which neyther witts nor swords have any edge, to come into purse, which Queen Mary had left quite drained and exhaust, many unnecessary officers and attendants wer discharged; enquirie was made what grants had passed from Queen Mary, by restitutione, gift, sale, or exchange, and to what valew they did extend; Commissioners were appoynted to call in debts; to take upp moneyes, at home and abroade; to make sales of lands; to ferme out the customes of London, and the Cinque Portes, for a yearely rent, and to take money beforehand; to demand of the Queenes tenants a yeares rent before hand, and soe of all the Coppy-holderes westward. And, the better to inable men to contribute towardes the necessary charges of state, excesse of apparrell in all degrees was much restrained.

The Commons petition the Queen to marry.

And, during the continuance of this parliament, the Knightes and Burgesses of the Lower house (doubtful whither of themselves or sett unto it by some lofty spiritt) made suite to the Queene that they might have accesse to her presence, to move a matter unto her which they esteemed of great importance for the general

* I believe the bawdrick, or baldrick, was generally passed round one side of the neck, and under the opposite arm; but there is an instance in Fabyan of a bawdrick worn round the neck, as a collar, which was probably the case in the unnecessary example in the text. The passage in Fabyan stands thus—"Then Kyng Richarde seyng the bounte of the Frenshe Kynge gaue to hym a bawderyke, or coler of golde, sette with greate dyamantys, rubyes, and baleseys, beynge valued at v.m. marke, the whiche for the preciosyte thereof, that it was of such an excellency and fynesse of stuffe, the Frenshe Kyng therefore ware it about his necke, as often as the Kynge and he mette together." P. 540, edit. 1811.

state of all the realme. This was granted, and a certayne time of audience appoynted; uppon which daye she came foorth into the greate gallery at White-Hall, richly furnished in attire, and honorably attended. And, when she was placed in her royall seate, the Commones of the Parliament wer brought before her. Here the Speaker* delivered a sett oratione, but it plainely appeared that her eminent excellencyes, together with the greatnesse of her state, made him feare the unworthinesse of every word which he was about to present to her eares. The summe and substance of that which he sayde contayned a suite that she would be pleased to dispose herselfe to marriage, as well for her owne comfort and contentment, as for assurance to the realme by her royall issue: that, if successione to the Crowne wer by this means certaynely knowne, not onely those dangeres should be prevented which, after her death, might fall uppon the state, but those alsoe which, in the meane tyme, did threaten herselfe: and that, thereby, as well the feares of her faythfull subjects and frendes, as the ambitious hopes of her enimyes, should cleane be cutt offe. A.D. 1559.

The Queene, after a sweete graced silence, with a princely countenaunce and voyce, and with a gesture somewhat quicke but not violent, returned answeare, that shee gave them greate thankes (as shee saw greate cause) for the love and care which they did expresse as well towardes her persone as the whole state of the realme; "and first" (sayd shee) "for the manner of your petitione, I like it well, and take it in good part, because it is simple, without any limitatione, eyther of persone or place. If it had beene otherwise; if you had taken uppon you to confine, or rather to bind, my choyse; to draw my love to your likeinge; to frame my affectione according unto your fantasyes; I must have disliked it very much; for as, generally, the will desireth not a larger liberty in any case then in this, soe had it beene a greate Her reply.

* Sir Thomas Gargrave. (D'Ewes's Journal, p. 15.)

A.D. 1559.

a good man-at-armes whoe should have parted them without battaile. Notwithstanding Christiann, Dutchesse of Lorraine, did soe incessantly travaile betweene them, that, by her mediatione, commissioneres wer appoynted, by both the Kings, to treate of peace. By thes, diverse conferences wer held that yeare, first at Lisle, and after at the Abby of Eercampe, not farr from Dorlens, but nothing was concluded.

Mediation of the Duchess of Lorraine, but without success.

This year, both the Kings sent their deputies to Chateau-Cambresi, about sixe leagues from Cambray, to which place the Queene of England* sent her Commissioneres, and soe did the Duke of Savoy. The Dutchesse of Lorayne came thither in persone, accompanied with the young Duke, her sonne, whose honest endeavours to compound a peace betweene thes parties, by persuasiones, by intreatyes, by all other moderate meanes, hath gayned to her a perpetuall honor in the annalles and histories of all thes nationes. At the last all differences wer accorded except the restitutione of Calais to the English, which was both stifly demaunded by King Phillipp and denyed by the French. King Phillipp held himselfe obliged in honor to procure a restitutione of that towne, which, under his government, and principally in his cause and quarrell, was lost. The French were unwilling to receive that people to any footing in France whoe had soe roughly overtrampled all ther country before.

Negociations renewed before the death of Queen Mary.

Broke off on acc unt of the refusal of the French to restore Calais.

But when they saw that, without performance of this conditione, nothing could be done, they studied onely how they might for the present deferr it; knowing right well that tyme worketh many advantages, which neyther are contrived, nor can be conceived at

* Not Elizabeth but Mary; the negociations were renewed before her death, but the subsequent arrangement effected by Cavalcanti was with Elizabeth. Mary appointed the Earl of Arundel, the Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, as her commissioners, and their authority was renewed by Elizabeth on the 23rd November, 1558. (Forbes's State Papers, i. 1.)

the first. To this purpose they imployed Guido Cavalcanti, a gentleman of Florence,* by whose meanes a speciall treaty was interteyned betweene the Queene of England and the French King. And so effectually did Cavalcanti deale, that, in short tyme, it was concluded, that Callais should remayne in possessione of the French King for the terme of eyght yeares; that, this terme beeing expired he should render the same to the Queene of England, or else to forfeite to her the summe of five hundreth thousand crownes; that, for suerty of the performance hereof, he should deliver fowre such hostages to the Queene, as shee should thinke fitt; that, in case the money should be payd, and the towne not rendered at the end of the sayd terme, yett the right and title of the sayde towne, with the country adjoyning, should pertayne to the Crowne and Realme of England. And, further, by the same treaty, a peace was concluded betweene the Realmes of England and Scotland;† such fortresses in Scotland wer to be beaten downe, as had beene built by the French and Scotts uppon the borderes towardes England.

A.D. 1559. Arrangement respecting Calais effected through Cavalcanti.

Scotland included in the peace between England and France.

Itt is very like, that the Queene was lede to this speciall treaty and agreement, partly by consideratione of her new and unsettled estate, the lesse assured by reasone of the greate mutatione which shee had made, and partly for that shee had some cause of jealousy, least the French King and the King of Spayne (especially for the cause of relligeone) might be drawne to make a peace prejudiciall unto her. But certayne it is, that in diverse of the greatest treaties betweene England and France, many principall poyntes have not punctually beene performed.

* The instructions given by the Sovereigns of France and England to Cavalcanti, together with many other interesting documents relating to this important transaction, will be found in Forbes's State Papers, i. 8—84. Cavalcanti was rewarded by Elizabeth with a pension of £100 *per annum*. (Fœd. xv, 567.)

† The treaty between England and Scotland is printed in the Fœdera, xv. 513. It bears date on the 2d day of April, 1559, the same day as the French treaty.

A.D. 1559.

Noe sooner was this agreement made, but Sir John Mason, Knight, and Secretary for the French toungue, was foorthwith dispatched to signify the same to the Queenes Commissioneres lying at Cambresi. Soe, the knot beeing loosed whereat onely the Commissioneres did sticke, a generall peace was presently concluded betweene all the partyes mentioned before, ther Realmes, Dominiones, and subjectes,* which, uppon the seaventh daye of Aprill, was publickly proclaimed at London.

Proclamation of Peace, 7th April.

Upon the xxijth of Aprill the Lord Wentworth, late deputy of Callais, was araigned, at Westminster, uppon an inditement of treasone, which had beene fownd agaynst him in Queene Maryes tyme, for the losse of Callais. But, all circumstances beeing well examined, he was acquitted by his Peeres. This actione I have esteemed worthy the memory, first for the rarenesse thereof, because very few before, and not any since, have, uppon the like triall, beene acquitted; Secondly, to manifest the justice of that tyme, for, assuredly, in cases of this nature, the Attorney Generall hath never had cause, but under a good and moderate prince.

Lord Wentworth tried for the losse of Calais, 22nd April.

Afterward, Hurleston, who had beene captayne of Risebancke, and Chamberleyne, who had beene captayne of the castle of Callais, wer arraigned, and alsoe condemned of treasone, for that at the first approach of the enemy, without assault, without battery, without necessity, they abandoned ther charges; whereby Risebanck was taken without any resistance, and the Towne was entred at the Castle, which is commonly the last peece that holdeth out.

The Captaines of Risebanke and the Castle of Calais tried.

Uppon the viijth of Maye the parliament dissolved, and, albeit princes, in the beginning of ther reigne, doe commonly rather give then receive, yet in regard that the treasure of the Realme was consumed, the revenewes of the Crowne diminished, and the

8th May. The Parliament dissolved.

* The treaty is printed in Rymer (Fœd. xv. 505), and also, more perfectly, in Forbes's State Papers, i. 68.

Crowne much indebted, in regard alsoe of the greate charges which the Queene was both presently occasioned, and did in short tyme after not onely suspect, but expect certeynly, to susteyne, a subsidie was granted* of ij^{s}. viij^{d}. the pownd for moveable goodes, and of iiij^{s}. the pownd for land, from all persones, as well spirituall as temporall, within the Realme. A.D. 1559. Subsidy granted.

This yeare John, Duke of Fin-land, second sonne to Gustavus King of Sueden, was sent into England by the King his father, to deale for a marriage betweene the Queene and Ericus the eldest sonne to the said Gustavus. He arrived at Harwich in Essex about the end of September, and was ther honorably received by the Earle of Oxford and the Lord Robert Dudley, and by them conducted from thence to London.† He had in his owne trayne about fifty persones well mounted; the Earle of Oxford alsoe, and the Lord Robert Dudley, wer followed with a fayre attendance both of gentlemen and yeomen. At London he was received by diverse Knights and gentlemen of the court, and lodged at the Bishopp of Winchesteres place in Southwarke. Here he remayned untill two dayes before Easter next following, and then departed towardes his country, having fully requited his honorable usage with very civill and modest behaviour. At his returne Gustavus was deade, and Ericus possessed of his state, who, suspecting that his brother John had demeaned him- Embassy from Sweden to deal for a marriage betwen the Queen and Prince Eric.

* By stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 21. Auth. edition, iv. 384.

† Cecil, writing to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, on the 20th October 1559, makes mention of this noble visitor in the following terms:—"Here is the Duke of Finland, who, on his brother's behalf, sheweth himself very politique to furder the suyte. He is very curteose and yet princely liberall, and yet in things necessary. Well spoken in the Latten tonge. How he shall spede God knoweth, and not I." In the same letter, Cecil, after alluding to a rumour of a contemplated visit, with a view to a marriage, to be paid to Elizabeth by the Archduke of Austria, adds—'What maye come tyme will shortly shewe. I wold to God her Majesty had one, and the rest honorably satisfyed."—(Sadler's State Papers, i. 507.)

A.D. 1559. selfe eyther faintly or falsely in his businesse, committed him to prisone. Afterwardes he attempted the same suite agayne, and was againe in like sort refused.

Obsequies for Henry II. of France. October. In October, a solemne obsequie was kept in Paules church for Henry the Second, King of France. He died of a wound received in the eye, as he ran at tilt against Count Mountgomery, in honor of the marriage betweene the Lady Margaret, his sister, and Philebert Duke of Savoy. Some wright, that the splitteres of the broken staffe peirced through the sight of his beaver, beeing somewhat open: others affirme, that his beaver slipped downe at the instant when the staffes did breake. After his death Francis, his eldest sonne, being about sixteene or seaventeene yeares of age, succeeded in his state, whoe the same yeare had taken to wife Mary the Queene of Scotland, daughter to James the fift by Mary of Lorraine, daughter to Claude the first Duke of Guise. Of this Queene I must now speeke, soe farr onely as may suffice to open the occasiones of such enterprises as I am to declare betweene the English and the French in Scotland. The residue shall more fully and fitly be supplyed afterward.

THE SECOND YEARE.

Retrospect. Accession of Mary of Scotland. 18th December, 1542. MARIE STUART, the onlie daughter to Jeames the fift Kinge of Scotland begane her reigne over the Realme of Scotland upon the 18th* daie of December in the yeare 1542, beinge then not above seaven daies old, so that almoste the world did no soner

* This ought to be the 14th. Buchanan, Knox, Robertson, and other historical writers, are mistaken in the dates they assign to the birth of Mary and the death of her father. Chalmers, upon the authority of the official registers, determined the former to have taken place upon the 7th of December, 1542, the latter upon the 14th. (Chalmers's Life of Mary, i. 2.)

behold her an infant, then a Quene; no soner was she borne, but forthwith she was a Quene; and no soner was she a Quene, but forthwith she was desired by Henry, then Kinge of England, to be assured in marriage to prince Edward, his onlie sonne, beinge then not past six yeares of age. To this purpose he called before him the Earles of Cassill and Glencarne, the Lords Maxwell and Fleminge, and diverse others who had bene taken in the warres, and were deteyned prisoners in England; upon these he bestowed their libertie, and manie liberall promises besides, in case they would faithfullie endeavour to effect this marriage. A.D. 1559. Proposal for her marriage with Prince Edward son of Henry VIII.

This they liked well, this they undertooke with great declaracion both of diligence and hoope, and so returned into Scotland; here they acquaynted the Governor with the King's request, perswadinge him that this marriage would be exceedinge advantageable to the Realme of Scotland, as well for extinguishinge warres with a people more mightie, and for participatinge benefitts from a people [more wealthy] then were themselves; that it was more convenient to knit Scotland with England then with anie other Realme whatsoever, in regard as well of the scituacion of the Countries, not onlie joyned togither, but divided from all the world beside, as of the nature of the people not much differinge in the language, or in fashion and behaviour of life. Hereupon the Governor assembled the nobilitie of the Realme at Edenburgh, where they concluded that a parliament should be held in March next ensuinge, to give perfection and forme to this busines.

In the mean tyme Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight, was sent Embassador from King Henry the Eight of England to the Deputie and other Lords of Scotland, who dealt so earnestlie, and advisedlie too, that authoritie was given by parliament to the Earle of Glencarne, Sir George Douglas, Sir William Humellton, Sir Jeames Leirmouth, and one of the Secretaries of State, to con- Authority given by the Scottish parliament to conclude the same.

A.D. 1559. clude this busines with the Kinge. These Commissioners passed into England, with whom, before the end of Julie, all covenants were agreed, and enterchaungeably were sealed, the marriage was contracted, and a peace established for ten yeares.*

Treaty concluded 1st July, 1543.

Disatisfaction of the French therewith.

The French all this while were so enterteyned with warres against the Emperour, that they litle attended theise procedings, but when they understood of this conclusion, both of marriage and of peace, they applied all their endeavours to dissolve it; ffirst, with intent to empeache the greatenes and strength of the Kinge of England; afterwards, to win Marie Quene of Scotts to be knit in marriage with Francis, who afterward was Kinge of France. To this purpose the Frenche Kinge sent for Matthew Earle of Leneox, who then served under his pay in the warres of Italie, and furnished him with monie, forces and freindes, to recover the regencie of the realme of Scotland from the Earle of Arraine, who then did possesse it, and to reverse such pactions as he had made. The pope sent also the patriarche of Apulia, as his legate a latere into Scotland, who in the name of the pope did assure both forces and monie to be sent into Scotland against the Englishe, he drewe all the Clergie of the Realme to the side, of whom manie were, as in peace factious, so of no great use for the warres. One the other side, the Kinge of England did not faile to support his partie with supplies; whereby a long, and very great warre, both for importaunce and varietie of accidents, was rayaed in Scotland, betwene the two Realmes of England and France.

Their endeavours to disunite England and Scotland.

The Clergy support the French.

War which ensued.

Mary conveyed into France, A.D. 1548.

In the yeare 1548 the yonge Quene was conveied over by seas out of Scotland into France, and afterwards the regencie of the Realme was comitted to the Queene Dowager her mother, who much favoured and affected the French, as beinge of the same

* The treaty is printed in Rymer's Fœd. xiv. 708.

nation by birth. In the yeare 1558 she was married to Frances, then Dolphin, but before he expired Kinge of France. And nowe it might have been conjectured, that, by reason as well of her marriage, as of the death of Kinge Edward the Sixt, the warres should have [been] extinguished: but it often falleth out that, the causes of thinges ceasinge, the effects, once set on foote, continue their courses. A.D. 1559. and married to the Dauphin, A.D. 1558.

In the yeare followinge a provinciall counsell of all the prelates and Clergie of Scotland was assembled at Edenburgh, and herein the temporall state required that praiers might be read and sacramentes administred in the Scottishe language; that election of Bishops and beneficed men should passe by voices of the people, with diverse other like articles of alteration; all which were no lesse stoutlie denied by the Clergie, than the laie people did stiffelie demaund them. Meeting of prelates and clergy at Edinburgh, of whom the laity require a reform in the Church, A.D. 1559.

The Queene Regent caused fower ministeres, Knox, Wullock, Douglasse, and Meffane, to be sumoned to Strevellinge, as principall firebrandes of these demands, and, for want of appearance, they were denounced rebells, and put to the horne.* But it is a great poynt of wisdome to make true conference betwene the nature of injuries and abilitie to revenge; to fore-cast (I saie) Knox and other Reformers summoned to Stirling, and outlawed for non-attendance.

* This is an allusion to a practice in the Scotch law with which the readers of "The Antiquary" have been made partially acquainted. The process of horning is simply this. The Sovereign by his letter commands a debtor to pay a debt, or an obnoxious reformer to appear, under pain of rebellion. If the command be not obeyed, the person to whom it was directed may be declared a rebel. This declaration is made at the market cross of the head borough of the shire in which the culprit dwells, and in the following form:—"The messenger must, before witnesses, first make three several 'O yesses' with an audible voice. Next he must read the letters, also with an audible voice, and afterwards *blow three blasts with an horn*, by which the debtor is understood to be proclaimed rebel to the King for contempt of his authority, and his moveables to be escheated to the King's use. Hence the letters of diligence are called *letters of horning, and the person summoned said to be denounced at the horn.*" Erskine's Institutes, edit. 1838, i. 295, 6.

A. D. 1559. whether the hurt of revenginge will not exceed the harmes alredie receyved; for Knox was followed by manie men of principall qualitie and degree, and, to these, the multitude adioyned themselves, who made the example of the nobilitie a sufficient warrant for all their actions. And nowe, supposinge he could not escape, either by lurkinge or submission, he set his saftie upon bold advise. Hereupon he assembled manie of his followers, and, haveinge first inflamed them to furie by a sermon, they began in Perth, otherwise called St. John's towne, and from thence proceeded in other places, to pull downe images and altars, to abolishe reliques, and to overthrowe howses of religious persons, seizinge upon their lyvinges and goodes; not the weakest argument for their overthrowe. And thus it happened to the Quene Regent, as is reported * of a beare, which, beinge stunge by a bee, tore the hive, and, thereby, brought the whole swarme about her eares. Agayne, the remedie which she used was farre more dangerous then the disease, for she did all togither followe the advise of the French. She used their aide cheiflie against those enterprises, whereas, in verie truth, whatsoever was pretended, her immoderat both favouringe and trustinge of the French was the principall occasion of all those stirres, and especially for that she reposed almost absolute credit and faith in the counsell of Mounseir Doysell and Rubee, who were adioyned to her by the States of Scotland. For no people will easilie endure that more should be attributed within their state, either in trust or authoritie, to others than themselves. So William, Kinge of Cicelie, by makinge a Frenchman his chanchellor, gave occasion to Cicelian evensong. So the Duke of Britaine, by callinge the Englishe into Britaine, was enforced himself to flie into England; and this was the cheif cause whereby the Englishe lost Aquitane; and, afterward, the French Naples.

The Reformers pull down images and religious houses.

The Queen Regent endeavours to put down the Reformers by the aid of the French.

* "the reporteth," in MS.

A.D. 1559.

But the Quene Regent, persistinge in her errour, tooke two thousand Frenche men undir the command of Mounsair Doysell, and, ioyninge to them certeyne bands of Scotts, entered Perth by appoyntement and placed a good garison therein; afterwards she fortified Leth, defeated the lords of Scotland, nere to the Abbey of Holieroode-howse, entered and possessed Edenburgh, and either raised or repaired manie other peices of good conditions for defence; and, further, she receyved newe forces out of France, under the conduct of Mounseir de le Brosse, leivetenant generall, and of Mounseur Martignes, Colonell of the foote. The Bishop of Amiens, and thre Doctors of Sorbone, passed with these companies into Scotland, to assist the Quene Regent for affaires of religion. These knewe right well, that, besids the countenance of the Regent, amongest the Scotts their partie was good, and as for anie other nation their reckoninge was, that, if they came with a greate armie, the place would soone reduce them to some necessitie; if with a slender strength, they should limit their fortunes well inoughe.

She obtains possession of Perth, May, and of Edinburgh, July.

The Scottish Lords take alarm at the proceedings of the French.

The Scottishe Lords were unable of them selves to beare head against this storme, and the rather for that all the great artillary of the realme was in the power of the Quene Regent, and of the Captaine of Edenburgh Castle; they begane also to frame feares, that, as the French were possessed of the person of their Quene, so they would seise upon her state, even under colour of her authoritie. They sawe that by the meanes of Mounsair Rubee, who had bene an advocate in the Court of Paris, and was then one of the principall in counsell with the Quene Regent, the ancient orders of the realme were altered, newe customes and impositions brought in, agreable to the lawes and customes of France. By the counsell of Count Martignes all the country about Lieth was laid wast, bycause it should afford no releif to anie that should beseige the towne. Labrosse signified his opinion into France

A.D. 1559. (whose lettres were intercepted in the cariage) that all the nobilitie of Scotland should be destroyed, and a thousand men at armes out of France placed in their castles, to kepe the comen multitude in subjection. The Bishop of Amiens gave incoragement to put to death not onlie those that imbraced not the Catholeke Religion, but those also, that did not favour the faction of France, in so much that he had openlie reproched the French soldiers, for enduringe their master's enimies to lyve. Hereupon the Lords of Scotland did more than probably (as they thought) conjecture, that, whatsoever was pretended in shewe, yet the French Kinge, either by his owne ambition, naturall almost to all great princes, or through insolence of those who guided his affayres, had a secret purpose to enlarge his dominions; that supposinge all his purposses were faire, suposinge that he intended that he pretended, yet no man could assure howe he would moderate himself when all thinges should stand at his discretion: no man could then assure that he would onlie impeach attempts for change of religion, that he would no further bridle the people, that he would not oppresse them, that he would not subvert the lawes and governement of the Realme, and annexe it to the Crowne of France; that, howsoeuer publicke affayres might be carried, yet, in regard of their particuler safties, there was left no midlinge either place or advice, they had gonne so farre they could not goe backe, they must of necessitie perishe or prevaile; they might playe the fooles to half.

They suspect a design of annexing Scotland to France.

Hereupon diverse of the nobilitie to the number of 28 persons addressed themselves to the Quene of England, intreatinge her, under manie arguments both of amitie and compassion, under manie workinge reasons of state, to be aidinge unto them, in dislodginge the French out of their countryes, not meaninge (as they said) to perswade her to partialitie, not to enterpose betwene her affection and anie person whatsoeuer, but to desire her with

They apply to Elizabeth for assistance.

an indifferent hand, she would help to uphold in their proper states, first her neighbours, then herself. A. D. 1559.

The Quene, to cover herself with manie excuses, alledginge that her owne state was not well established, as neither herself beinge setled in authoritie nor her subjects in obedience, that she was not so ambicious either of the hate or hassarde of warre, as without urgent necessitie to drawe them upon her, that she desired to communicate so litle as she could in a warre betwene two nations so nere unto her, that she had lately concluded a peace with the French Kinge, that a prince is not bownd to aide one confederate against another, and therefore she would answer them as they of Massilia* answered Cæsar in the warres against Pompey,—if they came peacebly and as freinds, they were both welcome; if as enimies, neither. Her reply.

The Lords of Scotland beinge so inflamed with this answere, that it did inflame them the more, "your unsettled and uncerteyne state" (said they) "is no sufficient grownd to withdrawe you from this action, because the undertakinge of great enterprises abroad, is the most assured meanes to divert away disquiet at home. In your peace with the French Kinge it was expressly comprised that such fortresses should be beaten downe, as had bene built in Scotland by the French. But have they done so? is this condition well performed? Nothinge lesse, they have fortified more stronglie since than before; they send over such companies dailie, that it draweth nowe to a plaine invasion. Howe should you accompt them persons in a league? or, if you do, yet manie tymes a prince not onlie maie, but, both in honor and justice, is bownde to aide one confederate against another: assuredlie in this cause, manie respects may justlie move you to undertake the aidcinge of us against the French. Arguments of the Scottish Lords to induce Elizabeth to interfere.

"For, first, we are your more ancient allies: we are ioyned more to you in nearer termes of confederacion, we are almost

* "Marsilia" in MS.

A. D. 1559. naturally knit in our bodie with you; in which case the Romanes did help and aid the Campanians against the Samnites their ancient confederates, and so the Switzers did aid usually their fellowe Switzers against all other confederates whatsoeuer. Agayne, a confederate that hath a good cause should be mayntayned against another, who by unjust armes oppugneth another; for this is sometyme expressed in leagues, that if anie of the associates make warr upon the other, the residue shall assist the cause that is just. But the French do nowe attempt upon us onlie (as they pretend) for matter of religion. We desire to reforme our church, and to conforme it to tymes of antiquitie, wherin we follow your owne example; your self for doeinge the like before us have thereby not onlie approved our action, but bownd your self in honor to support it, partlie for that we have taken imitacion from you, and partly for that your actions shalbe iustified by beinge imbraced and followed by others; further, the defence of one confederate is to be undertaken against the invasion or offence of another, especially if the partie assailed be inferiour in forces, if he be like to be oppressed, for naturally we are bownd to defend, even strangers, even against our very freinds; no freindship maie debarre us from drivinge dangers from the necks of others, yea in all civill respects you must preserve your neighbours both from ruine and change, if you will suerly provide for the stabilitie of your self.

"Lastlie, omit these respects to us, and consider (which commonlie is the end of aidinge others) howe nerelie the cause concernes your self: our young Quene is married into France, where she nowe lyveth as a stranger both to them and us, unable to use the liberty of her crowne, partely by reason of her tender yeares, and partlie for that the French King, her husband, beinge no lesse yonge both in age and judgement then her self, is wholly governed by his mother, and by the Duke of Guise, uncle to the

Quene. These, as if France susteyned not calamitie inoughe by chalenginge the dominion of Milane, Naples, and Flanders, have also, under colour of her name, pretended title to your crowne; they have proclaymed her Quene of your dominions. She assumed the armes and stile of England and Ireland, and annexed them to the stile and armes of Scotland and France: thus are publicke instruments made. A.D. 1559.

"And nowe, to what end is this invasion of Scotland, but to open an entraunce thereby into England? what assurance either of peace or of saftie can you expect, when you shalbe so nerely approched, and almost invironed with, then, by those who do pretend a title to your Crowne and have alredy imbraced the same in their ambicious hopes? can anie respect debarr you from deffendinge your self, from providinge for your self, from shakinge your enimies from of your skirts, from takinge the alarme against you in good tyme? Let others sit downe and lament their losses; it is the part of wise men to sit downe, and foresee, and to prevent them."

The Queene, whose deliberacions depended much upon herself, was neither ignorant nor irresolute what to doe, and also not unskillfull to carry affayres in fayrest forme, and therefore, albeit she both graciouslie enterteyned and heard the Lords of Scotland, yet received they nothinge for the present, but onlie hopes doubtfull and weake; afterwards she dispatched manie messengers of assurance and credit, as well to the French Kinge as also to those that managed his state cheifely, requestinge them to forbeare their fortifications, and withdrawe their forces out of Scotland, accordinge to the capitulations of their late league: but receiveinge an answere nothinge answerable to her demand, she undertooke the action, and appointed thereto forces and order. The Queen's cautious conduct. She requests the French King to withdraw his forces from Scotland.

And, first, she published a declaration,* that she bare no other Declaration of her

* Printed in Haynes, 268. It is dated the 24th March, 1560.

A. D. 1559.

intent hereby, but onlie to defend and preserve her state, which indeed was afterwards declared by the event. Then she made the Duke of Norfolke leiuetenant generall over the north parts of the Realme, and sent him to Barwicke to give direction and order for the warr; a man than whom noe man regarded either other things lesse, or reputation more, and yet not so stronge in desireing honors as in useing them he was moderate. When he was arrived at Barwicke, their came to him the Earle of Argile, the Prior of St. Andrewes, the master of Maxwell, and the yong Lord of Ledington, and, all agrements beinge fully confirmed,* they delivered their hostages, Claude Hamilton, sonne to the Duke of Chattellereault, Archebald Campbell, Lord of Longheuiell, and cosine to the Earle of Argile, Robert Douglasse, half brother to the Lord Jeames Stuart, Georg Greame, second sonne to Lord Monteith, and James Cuningham, sonne to the Earle of Glencarne, to remaine in the custodie of the Englishe for their assurance, duringe the life of the French King, and one yeare after his decease.†

Intention in interfering in the affairs of Scotland.

Sends the Duke of Norfolk to Berwick.

Agreement concluded there with the Scotch Lords.

Hostages delivered to Elizabeth.

In the moneth of Januarie ‡ a navie was set forth to Scotland,

* They are printed in Haynes's Collection of State Papers, p. 233.

† Not during *the life* of the French King, but during the continuance of his marriage with the Queen of Scotland, and one year after the dissolution of that marriage (Haynes, 233). In addition to the hostages named by Hayward, there is mention of "The Lord Ruthen's sonn, Archibald Ruthen" (ibid. 238. 244). The hostages were to be changed every six or four months, at the pleasure of the Scottish party (ibid. 235). Whilst in England they were distributed about amongst the Bishops, "both for safe keeping and the increase of their learning" (ibid. 237).

‡ In one of Cecil's letters dated "At Westminster, hora 1ª noctis, 23 of December, 1559," he exclaims in his usual hearty manner, "Our ships be on the seas, God speede them!" He mentions at the same time that William Wynter was appointed to their command (Sadler's State Papers, i. 654). Extraordinarily boisterous weather detained them beating about on the coast until the third week in January, when part of the fleet succeeded in reaching the Frith of Forth. The details may be seen in Haynes, pp. 225. 227. 231.

which, waftinge along the coast, came into the Frith, and cast anchor in the roade of Lieth, as well to empeache the landinge of men out of France, as also to cut of victualls and other supplie from those that laie in Inskeith, and in Lieth. When they were first discouered from the land, they were taken to be ships sent out of France, with aide and other supplies for the warre, which the Regent did euery howre expect; hereupon the French, riotous in ioy, sounded all ther musicke of warre, drumes, trumpets and cannons, for a soldier's welcome, but, when they understood their errour, they changed their countenance and cheere, and with hast answearable to their feare made diligent preparation for their defence. Indeed, about the same tyme, Marques Elbeufe, the Quene Regent's brother, had set forth from the coast of France with viii talle ships, charged with soldiers, monie, and other provision to furnishe the warres in Scotland, but, upon intelligence that the Englishe fleete was at sea before him, he pretended foule and contrarie windes, and returned to the port from whence he came.

A.D. 1560. January.

An English fleet arrives off Leith.

Are mistaken by the French for the Marquis d'Elbeuf,

who puts back to France.

The Quene Regent, upon arrivall of the Englishe ships, withdrewe herself into Edenburghe Castle, and then sent to Mr. William Winter, vice-admirall of the fleet, to understand the cause of their cominge. He returned answere that he was appointed to skowre the seas from unlawfull adventurers; and, in case anie such were come into these waters, he was readie to waite upon them. After this she sent a herault to the Duke of Norfolk, who at that tyme laye at Newecastle, with a letter of credence, for such matters as he had by speech to impart: when audience was given him, he plainly affirmed, that, besides the charge of deliuereinge that letter, he was not furnished with anie instructions.* However, the Duke sent a herault to the Quene Regent

The Queen Regent demands of Winter the cause of his coming.

She sends also a messenger to the Duke of Norfolk at Newcastle.

* The Duke's account of this matter, contained in his report to the council, dated 11th February, 1559, is as follows: — "I have received Lettres from the Quene

A.D. 1560. to understand her pleasure. The Quene Regent first semed to marvaile that her herault wanted instructions, then she complayned of the arrivall of the Englishe ffleet without her leave, without her knowledge. Mounseir Martignes beinge present, and full of bold corage, added, that the Quene of England should have as little ioy (he made no doubt) of her warres agaynst France, as had before Quene Mary her sister. To this the Englishe herault made answere, that he expected to have found but one Regent in Scotland, but then he perceyved that others also had a stroke in the state; that the Quene Regent could not more marvaile at the arrivall of the Englishe then the Quene of England did both at the arrivall and fortifications of the French, whereby she was enforced so farr onlie to declare in armes, as might suffice to serve her owne state. He further complayned that the French were both favourably and honorably enterteyned into Scotland, but against the Englishe the canon had bene bent;*

Dowagier of Scotland, brought hither by a Scottishe herauld, which lettre I send you herewith. And, albeit the same importeth sum credytt to have bene committed to the seid herauld, yet he had nothing at all to saye, besides the contents of his Lettres. Wherefore supposing rather that he was addressed hither to copie our doinges here, then for any other speciall cause, I thought good for the reciproque to send the answer to the seid Dowagier by an Englishe herauld, to th'intent he may bring us such intelligence of their doinge in Scotland, as he cann attain. And I dismissed the Scottish herauld, to whom, I said, that, within a daie or twoe, I wold send a speciall messenger to the seid Dowagier, with such answeere to here seid Lettres as I doubted not should be to here contentacion. According whereunto I have nowe sente Chester Herauld to Edenburghe for that purpose, with lettres to the seid Dowagier of such effect as ye shall perceive by the copie of the same, which I send you herewith." (Haynes, i. 240). On the 24th February, the Duke, in another despatch, makes mention of the return of Chester Herauld, and inclosed his written report of such matters as passed in his conference with the Queen (Ibid. 236).

* This is an allusion to the reception of the English fleet in the Frith of Forth. The French quartered at Inchkeith, Burntisland, and Leith received Winter "with great crueltye," as the Duke of Norfolk remarked, "shooting canons and all their other great artillarye." (Haynes, 231, 233.) In return for this uncourteous reception, at

and, further, that since his cominge to her Court, a guard had bene set upon him, and therefore she must not take it in evill part if anie of her messengers to England should after tast of the like enterteynement; and so, either without replie or reward, he was permitted to depart. A.D. 1560.

In the meane tyme the armie by land was both amassed and ordered about Barwicke, over which the Lord Grey of Wilton was appoynted leiuetenant generall, a man valorous in warre, and in peace courteous; great both in birth and estate, but greater in courage; in counsaile a commander, a soldier in armes.* This armie conteyned about 6000 foote, and of lancieres and light horsemen 1250 men of good choise, and assured executioners of things commanded. In the very end of March, the companies, ranginge under their proper ensignes, were led by their generall into the borders of Scotland, and as they marched close, and in firme order by Dunbarre, certeine soldiers both horse and foote issued out of the towne, and made offer to charge upon them: but very lightly (and as it semed) more to tast their contenance

Lord Grey with an English army advances into Scotland. March.

They are attacked by the garrison of Dunbar.

which he pretended to be much surprised, Winter "fell uppon certein French ships lying in Fiffe side and tooke two of them, being men of warre, and one hoy," laden with arms and ammunition. (ibid. 231.)

* Lord Grey esteemed himself to be more of a soldier than a counsellor. When the French began to treat, he wrote to the Council that he could not "attend both the marshall affayres and a treatye," wherefore Sir Ralph Sadler was sent into Scotland to take the burthen of the latter off his hands. (Haynes, 287.) The Council corresponded with Lord Grey as if they thought him a mere rough soldier, one whom it was not well to perplex with long letters or many instructions. The following is one of their characteristic epistles to him:—"After our hasty commendations, we will not trouble your Lordship how so euer you be occupyed, but bidd God spede yow, and wish you all good fortune to accomplish this so honorable a Jornaye, as never the like was attempted for good to our Posterite. Styck not to go through with this enterprise, and your praise wilbe more than all the rest of your lyffe, if all your lyffe war layd togither. Take hede of French Inchantements. They will wyn Tyme of yow, if ye take not good end [heed?]. Well, thus we leave your Lordship to your Business." (ibid. 290.)

A.D. 1560.

then to fight with them in good appoyntment; for, upon the approche of some lanciers, and shot* of the Englishe, they kept themselves so within their strength, that only two of their horsemen and one of their footemen [were] slayne, and one Englishe horseman hurt. At Salt Preston they encamped, and there remayned certeyne daies. To this place diuerse of the nobilitie of Scotland came unto them, and had conference with the leivetenant generall. They came so well attended both for number of men, and well and good appoyntement, that a fewe of them joyned togither would have made a competent strength for the feild.

They halt at Prestonpans, and are joined by the Scotch.

April 6th. They advance from Preston towards Leith.

Upon the sixt of Aprill the armie rose from Salt Preston and marched forward. About half a mile from Lestericke, beneath a cragg called Arthur's Seate, certeyne of the nobilitie of Scotland met with them, accompanied with 200 horse and 500 foote or there abouts. And whilest they enterteyned some spech with the generall, the armie was commanded to continue their march. When they were come to a place called the Linkes, besides the towne of Lieth, the generall sent to the Quene Regent, abidinge then in the castle of Edenburgh, desireing a safe-conduct for some of his counsell to come unto her, as well to declare the cause of his cominge, as also to treat with her about some meanes of extinguishing these flames, otherwise than by the blood of her freinds. The Quene Regent did send a safe-conduct presently bie a herault furnished with apparell of his office, and tokens of a peaceable message. Hereupon Sir Jeames Crofts, Sir Georg Howard, and six others went unto her; and for this tyme of conference, an abstinence from hostilitie on both parts was promised.

They offer to treat with the Queen Regent.

Sir James Crofts, Sir George Howard, and six others sent to her.

* Hoyward has this word several times (vide pp. 53, 56, and elsewhere) in the sense of—"a foot soldier who used fire-arms." This probably fixes the meaning of a passage in Falstaff's expression of admiration at Wart's management of his caliver, "Very good! exceeding good! O give me always a little, lean, old, chopt, bald shot." (Second Part of Henry IV. act iii. sc. 3.) We retain this use of the word in the phrase—"a good shot."

The meting was upon the blacke howse at the first gate of the Castle, where the Englishe declared, that the cominge of the French drewe them thither; that if the Quene would procure the French men to depart, they also would orderlie retire out of her Realme. The Queene desired respit untill the next daie, to advise with those that were within Lieth: she desired also that she might in the meane tyme send her messengers without impeachment unto them. The Englishe semed to dislike that the Quene Regent in this case should stand upon advisinge with the French, but, as they came not to desire anie thinge of her, so would they not oppose openlie against anie of her desires. A. D. 1560. The conference.

Duringe the tyme of this debatement, Mounseir Martignes, collonell of the French, came forth of Lieth, with 900 or 1000 shot backed with 500 corslets and pikes, and about 50 horse. The generall of the Englishe sent word unto them, that a surcease of armes had bene promised one both sides, which if they purposed to maynteyne, they must retire their forces out of the feild. The French returned answere, that they were upon the grownd of their mistres, and intended not for anie man's pleasure to depart, or remove. The messenger at armes was sent againe to signifie unto them, that, either they must presently depart, or else addresse themselves to abide their adventure; scarce was this second message deliuered, but the French discharged a volley of shot against the Englishe in the feild. The Englishe are attacked by the garrison of Leith.

Hereupon the skirmishe begane, which was with great both valour and discretion maynteyned on both parts, for the space of foure houres and more, their corages guided with skill, and their skill armed with corage. The French had the advantage of a hill, called Halke Hill, and of a cragg adioyninge to it; but the Englishe, striveinge a while both against the dificultie of the place and the force of their enimies, at the last beate them from the hill, and wanne the cragg from them; and, in deed, seldome do anie forces thrive which repose much trust in other advantages Skirmish at Halke Hill, and the French repulsed.

A.D. 1560. besides the valour of the soldier. After this they used a chaple as a cover against the Englishe shot, where they maynteyned firme and sure footing for a good space, but in the end they were driven from it by playne courage of their enimies. Then they within Lieth discharged diverse peces of great artillerie against the Englishe, who, on the other side, brought forth two feild peces, which they covered with a troup of horsemen, untill they had planted them to some advantage, and then discharged them against their enimies: this caused them to begine to dissolve, and therewith the dimi-lances gave a feirce charge, brake them, and chased them almost to the gates of the towne. Of the French in this conflict about 140 passed under the sword, and amonge them 12 of name, either for nobilitie of birth and state, or for honorable places they mannaged in the armie: manie other were hurt, and manie taken; manie of the Englishe were also slaine and hurt; but, as generally the Englishe are reputed more roughlie resolute then subtill and fine, so it was at this tyme conjectured that, if the advantage which the French offerred, by coming so farr from their strength, had so well bene apprehended by the Englishe commanders as the soldiers were valiant in executinge their charge, the whole power of the French might have bene cut of. But the adventures of warre have manie hidden fortunes, which neither the counsell and courage of men can assure.

Loss on both sides.

Influence of the result of this skirmish on both armies.

It is alwaies incredible how much the event of this conflict discouraged those Scotts who favoured the French, and lifted up the other in assurance of hope, every one interpretinge this to be a presage of the absolut issue of the whole warre. The Englishe were also inflamed in courage, that, when the Quene Regent sent a trumpeter to the French in Leith, with a letter conteyninge the effect of the treatie mencioned before, he was staied by the Englishe, and comanded to returne againe to the Quene, and to signifie unto her, that they would take such order with the French that they should be glad to quite Scotland, objecting

further against them that the lawes and rules of warre did lay upon invaders to hold the feild, to charge, and assaile, and not to run like conies to their covert. A.D. 1560.

After this the Captaines drewe to consideration all the meanes for the exploit of the towne, either how much the scituacion did help, or what might be hoped for by industrie, which parts were weake, and how to levy the difficulties where was any showe of resistance or strength; and certeyne it is, that the generall, beinge none of those who thincke all things done for which they have given direction, followed alwas his commandement with his presence, being an eie witnes of every man's performance, and suffering no profitable counsell, for want of due execution, to be lost. Preparations of the English for the siege of Leith.

Certeyne daies were spent in casting trenches and planting them with ordinance, in dischargeinge the artillerie also, aswell from the towne as against it, with greater terrour than hurt to either partie. The Generall was lodged within the towne of Lesterick, in the Deane's howse, and the most part of the horsemen were quartered in that place; the foote men lay under tents and pavillions in the feild, upon the south and south-east side of Lieth, and with these diuerse Lords of Scotland were encamped, and namelie the Earles of Argile, Morton, Arraine, Glencarne, the Lords Boid,* Ogiltre, the Prior of St. Andrewes, the Master of Maxwell and others. Disposition of the English troops.

Upon Easter-daie the artillerie plaied and the footemen skirmished most part of the daie, for suerlie if there be anie behaviour that may be taxed with the note of irreligious, it maie be found amongest men of warre. The same daie two captaines of the fleet, called Dethick and Wood, havinge passed up the river, presented themselves with their bands of men before the Castle of Blacknesse, which upon sumons of the canon was yelded unto them. The French within it were taken prisoners, and the place deliuered to the kepinge of the Scotts. The same daie one of the Englishe scowtes was trayned from his companie, by nine French Town attacked upon Easter Day, April 14th.

* "Bloid" in MS.

A.D. 1560. men, apparrelled* like women, who stroke of his head, and set it upon the top of one of the steples; a vaine victorie, and of small moment, but onlie to satisfie the cruell humor of revenge.

April 15th. Sally made by the garrison, and the besiegers taken by surprise. The next daie sallied forth of Lieth about 500 shot and 50 horsemen, who joyninge courage with celeritie, surprised on of the trenches so sodenlie, that they within were soner in danger then they could almost bethincke themselves of defence: the amasemente, and therewithall the confusion, was very great; and so would the slaughter have bene had not the other Englishe companies, with great diligence, come into the rescue, who findinge the victorious in a disorderlie persute (which in the like cause for the most part happeneth) gave a furious charge upon them, beate downe sixtene within the trench, and, in that vaine of courage, chased the rest with a great execution to the very towne. And yet they were much annoyed with great artillerie from the towne and walles, which discharged about an 100 shot against them. The Englishe that were surprised fell at great variance upon whom should be laid the fault of their foile, euery man cleareing himself and castinge the blame upon his fellowes. Assuredlie the sodainenes of a danger is often tymes more terrible then the danger it self, and if it happen amonge a multitude ungoverned, it is most desperate.

April 16th. The English receive a reinforcement. Upon Easter-twesdaie a supplie of 2200 foote came to the Englishe camp, men well-trained, and able to execute offices of the feild; but the French, never supplied, and dailie weareinge out, partely by sickenes, and partlie by sword, by reason of their over-adventurous hardines in sallienge forth, began alredie to decline, as in companie of men, so in courage, insomuch that, the daie follow-

April 17th. The French exhaust themselves in continued sallies. inge, an alarme beinge made by shipboats on the side of the towne towards the sea, a loud crie was made by women, children and other feble folkes, within the towne, and yet the French ceased not from often sallies, not so much upon disorders of their enimies

* "Apparrell" in MS.

or to followe the favour of anie other occasion, as upon a vaine bravery to give unquiet lodginges to those whom enmitie had made new neighbours, their present feircenes not permittinge them to se their present declyninge; an errour famillier to men of greater courage then foresight. A.D. 1560.

All this tyme the Quene Regent laie sicke in the Castle of Edenburgh, and yet she ceased not to worke the Lords to some reconcilement, sometimes puttinge them in remembrance of their particuler both duties and states, sometymes of the comon danger of the Realme, which semed liked a fallinge tower, the parts whereof, as windowes, roufes and walles were entire, but the foundation ruinous. To this purpose she sent for the Earle of Huntley out of the north, who travailed with great paynes betwene the Quene and the Lords. But bycause she endevoured to drawe them from the Englishe, to imbrace amitie with the French, aswell in regard of ancient alliance, as for that the French King was then joyned in marriadge with their Quene, the Lords would not listen unto her. The Queen Regent's earnest endeavours to bring about a reconciliation, but without success.

Also such variance did arise in France betwene the Duke of Guise and the princes of the blood, for causes which shalbe touched hereafter, that fresh forces could not be supplied from thence, within such tyme as necessitie required. Whereupon Count Randon and Monlac Bishop of Valence were sent in the French King's name, not with anie limitted Comission, but with authoritie and instructions at large, to deale in those affaires as the qualitie and state of them did require.* They were brought to the Englishe armie by Sir Henry Percie and 300 light horsemen in trayne, and from thence were conducted by an officer at armes to Edenburgh Castle, to talke with the Quene Regent. They were no sooner entred the Castle but forthwith the French salied forth of Lieth [and] began a sharp skirmishe, which they mayntened the Troubles arise in France which prevent the sending of succours from thence. Arrival of Count Randon and the Bishop of Valence as ambassadors from France to treat of peace;

* Their instructions are printed in the Fœdera, xv. 581.

A.D. 1560. space of two howres: at last, they gave grownd, leavinge them onlie to kepe it, who in kepinge it had lost themselves. After some conference with the Quene Regent, the Bishop of Valence went to the Lords of Scotland, but fownd them inclinable to no agrement without advice and allowance of the Englishe. So, a fewe daies beinge unprofitably spent, they departed towards Barwicke to treat of this busines with the Quene of England, beareinge them in shewe that they were directed principally about this busines to her, and not unto the subjects of Scotland; for that it was not mete that the King their master should either treate or condicion with those, which, by reason of his marriage, were his proper subjects.

being unsuccessful, they depart towards England to treat with the Queen.

Nowe the French within Lieth had mounted certeyne peices of ordinance upon St. Anthonie's steple, and upon St. Nicholas steple, within the towne, which, by reason of their height, did more anoye the Englishe then did the artillery from the walles. In St. Nicholas Church also they had laid all their stoore both of victualls and of munition. Hereupon question was made amonge the Englishe counsell of warre, whether battery might be made against those places.

The French having fortified the churches of Leith, it was disputed whether sacred edifices might be battered.

Some were of opinion, that the deffaceinge of places dedicated to God was an action both impious and against the lawe of nations, for so Phillip is blamed in Livie, and likewise in Florus, for minateinge temples, as if by them he had given defiance against the Powers of Heaven, as if naturall and divine lawes were thereby infringed; so doth Polibius obiect against the Aetoolians that they extended there rage to the laying wast of sacred places. Cicero calleth such warres horrible, nefarious, worthie of all hostilitie and hate. The Barbarians accomptid it to procede not from courage, but from outrage and flat furie. Tacitus obeerveth that the temple of Ephesus was never violated by any of the conquerors of that cittie, whether Grecks, Romans or Barbarians. Josephus setteth it downe for a lawe of God, that the temples of

Arguments against.

Liv. lib. 31.

Flo. lib. 2.

Senec. 9.

Tac. An. 3.

Jos. Antiq.

heathen should not be spoiled, either bycause the Jewes should not defile themselfes with the spoile of them, or bycause they should not provooke the heathen to do the like against the temple of God. So, when Alexander destroied Thebes, he gave in charge that the temples should in no case be violated. So Brutus preserved temples from the fury of warre. And so feirce Tamerlaine was alwaies favourable to sacred places. So that it appeareth they were nothinge lesse then magi (that is, wisemen, and oracles of religion) who perswaded Zerxes to set on fire the temples of Grecia, albeit this counsaile agreed well with them of Persia, which held it a high poynt of impietie to worship God as inclosed in roofes and walles. A.D. 1560. Said.

But Isocrates sayth, that the Jouians did afterwards devote those to dire execrations who should repayre the temples which the Persians had fired, for that they would have them remayne perpetuall monuments of their barbarous impietie. "They are fooles," sayth Euripides, "who, haveinge taken any cittie, lay temples wast and sacred places wast." These are the Giants (as Apollonius conceived) who, therefore, are said to have made warre against Jupiter in heaven, bycause they destroied his temples upon earth.

This is true, answered another, so longe as they retayne their proper nature, so longe as they are applied to sacred and religious uses, it is not lawfull to spoile nor deface them; but, when they are prophaned, when they are directed from religious ends, then they loose the priviledge of religion. When they are made magizens for stoore, when they are turned to fortresses and castles, not onlie to defend our enimies, but to offend and anoye us, to impeach, to cut of, the course of our victories, then may we deale with them as with peices newelie erected to such a purpose, then may we beate them downe, not onlie as beinge hindered, but as beinge endamaged and endangered by them. And thus it was determined by Titus, the sonne of Vespasian, against the temple of Jerusalem. For, when he In favour.

A.D. 1560. was perswaded by manie to destroy it upon hatred (as it like), which, at that tyme, all men had and did beare against the religion of the Jewes, the resolucion was taken, that if the Jewes should fight out of the temple, then it should be set one fire; then accompted a castle, and not a temple. Upon the same reasons the Venetians did not spare the temple of Ptolomaida, when the Genoans did fortifie the same against them; for what should they do with temples, who applie them to no better ends? Assuredly they cannot complayne of any violation who, by prophane uses, do violate them first most of all.

The churches are battered.

This advise beinge taken, battery was forthwith made with nine peices of ordinance against the steples, and although they lay a quarter of a mile of, yet the peices that lay upon St. Anthonie's steple were by them dismounted, and within six or seaven tyre* after, the peices on St. Nicholas steple were likewise cast downe, togither with a gunner that stode by one of them. The battery continued all that daie, and especially against St. Nicholas Church, which the enimies had made their stoorehowse for provision, so as the walles and roofe were torne, and the steple altogither defaced.

New trenches are dug,

and a mount raised.

And bycause the trenches were unfitt, in regard both of distance and scituation, to do anie great harme to the walles on that side of the towne, the pioners, as well Englishe as Scotts, were imploied to cast newe trenches, and to raise a mount on the south and south-west of the towne. The daie after the beginings of this worke, about 300 or 400 shot of the French were secretly sett out of Lieth under covert of a place called litle London, ready to breake forth as occasion should invite them; after this a fewe horsemen issued forth, and lightly hovered upon the Englishe armie. At the last certeyne Englishe lances charged upon them, whereupon they retired, and drewe the Englishe within danger of

A sally from the garrison.

* A "tyre," or, as we spell it, "tier," or "tear," of guns, is now used to signify a number of guns placed in a row, as along a ship's side; in this place it seems to mean the discharge of the whole row of battering ordnance.

their shot, but they agayne were as hotly saluted, partely by a supplie of smale shot from the armie, and partlie by the artillery from the trenches; and, albeit the French did behave themselves bravelie that daie, in skirmishinge almost two howers in the face of the cannon, yet were they enforced with much expence of blood to retyre themselves into the towne. A. D. 1560.

Diverse like games of fortune were plaied, with some losse to both parties, the French beinge desirous to give impediment to the Englishe pioneers, but, either by their naturall rashenes, or ill fortune, they returned, for the most part, with disadvantage. At the last the trenches were finished, whereof some drewe so nere to the towne, that a harquebuze might reach them that were in the grene bullwarke close to the walles. Then was the armie removed to the newe trenches, and, as they passed, manie peces of artillery were discharged from the towne against them; as they were busied in setlinge their campe, the French salied forth, and offered skirmishe, but the Englishe, beinge then both divided in companie and otherwise imploied, held them selues within their strength. The new trenches finished,

Presently after this the Englishe assaulted a trench, which the French men had made without the towne, slue the skout and diuerse soldiers that were within it, and made themselves masters of the place. Then they gave a great alarme to the towne both by land and by water, and in the meane time, the newe trenches were planted with canon. This done, the battery began on that part of the towne against the walles, with effect answerable to the assaylant's desire. and planted with cannon.

On a certeyne daie, whilest this battery continued, a sodaine fire was raised towards eveninge in Lieth, which was no sooner espied by the Englishe, but they discharged their ordinance against the same place, so, as helpe beinge dangerous, and the winde growinge, the flame mightilie encreased and raged all that night, and imbraced also some of their stoore howses, so as much of their

A.D. 1560. provision was consumed: the sodainenes of the adventure, and the darckenes of the night brought a great feare and confusion upon them within the towne. Notwithstandinge, the French regarded lesse their safety than their glory, salied forth at the same tyme and maineteyned skirmishe almost two howres. They manned the walles also, and prepared all thinges, as if the assault should presently have bene given. But the breach was not then held reasonable, and therefore an alarme onlie was made, and certeyne soldiers entered the ditch to veiwe exactly the state of the walles.

After this two trenches were made; the one was planted with great ordinance, in the other certeyne shot were lodged, to beate of those who should appeare in defence of the walles. Then were two false assaults given, onlie to discover where the flanckees of the breach did lie, and no sooner had the Englishe approched the ditch, but two or three voleyes of shot were discharged against them from the flanckees, whereby about twenty of them were slaine or hurt. Hereupon the battery was bent against the flanckees, and in the greatest fury thereof, the French made a salie upon the newe trenches, and so lyvelie charged the Englishe, that they constreyned them to give grownd a good waye, and, notwithstandinge, redublinge in courage upon the importance of their danger, they drave the French againe home to the towne; and in the meane tyme, the great artillery did much hurt on both sides. In the very heat of these hurliments, the Englishe burnt one of the milles beyond the water, and the daie followinge the other, which, when the French endeavoured to save, they were so galed by two demie-culveringes from the trenches, that they were constreyned to abandon the enterprise.

A breach effected.

The breach pronounced complete.

And nowe the artillery had executed so well, that, by the opinion of the Englishe commanders, the breach was faire, and the towne in fit state to be assaulted: and thus it was comonly concluded by some, bycause they demed so inded; by others, through

a rashe impaciencie, more apt to contemne dangers, then able to judge them; by the rest, to show themselves valiant, in things which perteyne to the hasard more of the soldieres then themselves; and herein also they were supported by manie bold blouds amonge the comon soldieres, who confirmed this devise with all sorts of hopes which men followed with fortunate succes do no lesse usually then vainely frame. A.D. 1560.

Hereupon the generall, reposinge so great assurance both in the courage and fortune of his soldiers, commanded them, upon the sixt daie of Maie, towards the eveninge, that they should be readie in armes by midnight, and, in the meane season, gave order that the battery should not cease: he encouraged them also that euery man should go to his charge, and shewe the same will to execute the enterprise which they had done to undertake it; that they had no more neede to doubt of the victorie, then they had to doubt of their owne valour; that it was in vaine to have so often chased their enimies to their burrowes, if then they could not ferret them out of their hoales; that, if they vanquished the first bruit of danger, which, like a storme, would be furious and short, the residue of the enterprise would be easy to attcheive. 6th May. Orders given to prepare for an assault.

On the other side, the French, haveinge often tasted the tough temper of the Englishe, omitted no preparacion for their defence, knowinge right well, that there is no greater token of receyving a blowe then when men esteme to much of themselves and to litle of their enimies, presuminge also that manie former good fortunes of the Englishe began to bred a presuminge boldnes. The French prepare for their defence.

The next morninge by ij of the clocke diverse bands of Englishe, with greater courage then preparacion, advanced towardes the towne. The lancers and light horsemen were appoynted to girde the feild, the residue of the foote were left to defend the trenches, and to endanger those who should make appearance upon the walles. The assailants pressed forwards and entered the 7th May. The town is assaulted.

A.D. 1560. ditches with boldenes inoughe, some approchinge the walles, some the bulwarks, others attemptinge the breach besids the milles. But when they came to the impe of their exploite, the breach was fownd in good condition of defence, and for the bulwarks and the walles, the ladders were too short by two yards and more. Besids, the French had stopped the current of the river that night, whereby the ditches were so anoyed with water, that they were troublesome to passe, albeit no other impediment should have bene offered.

Hereupon the assailants begane to give a greivous sentence against their owne state; yet these difficulties did rather double, then anie thinge diminishe their endeavours. The medley was terrible. The French at the first did cast downe plentie of stones and great plenty of timber upon the assailants, who, notwithstandinge, mounted up and advanced themselves to the pushe of the pike and stroke of the halbert. The canon was discharged continually one both sides; the small shot went of from the flanckees, walles and trenches so thicke, that it semed for the tyme a very hell: nothinge was sene but fire and smoake, nothinge was heard but roareing of shot; the earth, the aire, the heavens, semed to be turned into a cloud, castinge forth continuall thunder and lighteninge. In the middest of these furies the Englishe mainteined the assault aboue the space of an howre and half, and that with such obstinacie and heat, that every man semed to strive who should shewe himself most carelesse of lyfe. Yea, manie of them, beatinge downe all resistance before them, entered the towne in diverse places. But the courage of the soldier was not able to recompence the oversight of their commanders; and so, at the last, by vertue of the defendants of the place, they were enforced to retyre, leaveinge behind them some 150, or, as some do saie, 200 men, part within the towne and part in the ditches, bledinge in their deadly wounds; 200 or 300

The assailants are repulsed.

did beare away the reward of their rashenes in hurts and maimes, sheweinge howe easilie valour falleth to the grownd, when it is not guided by the eie of wisdome. The French, haveing thus repelled their enimies, advanced fourteen ensignes about the walles, and addressed themselves to repaire their breaches, even in the face of the Englishe cannons. The Englishe were so much the more vexed, at their repulse, by howe much they had bene victorious before, by howe much also the action was undertaken with a resolute will, and thus bold counsells for the most part are, in the begininge plausible, in proceedinge hard, and heavie in event. A.D. 1560.

After this the Englishe raised another mount one the west side of the water of Lieth, and named it Mount Faulcon. When it was finished, and planted with great artillery, it so beate into the towne, that it rent and defaced manie buildinges, and in such sort anoyed the streets, that none could openlie passe, especially towards that part of the towne, without danger of beinge slaine. Another mound raised and the town battered.

The Duke of Norfolke, beinge advertised of the late adventure of the Englishe, wrot unto them, that they should not let falle any poynt of courage, not intermitt, not remitt anie enforcements of their seige, for that they should want no soldiers so longe as there were anie within the place of his command (which was betwene the Rivers Twede and Trent) that were able to beare armes: that if neede required he would come in person and lodge with them in the feild; and, for assurance thereof, he sent his pavilion and caused it to be set up in the campe. This letter was seconded with diverse supplies, which were sent to the armie in severall companies; at one tyme 450 soldiers came, and, within a fewe daies after, 500 more, within a small tyme after 600 more arrived, able bodies, and not unskilfull in the use of their weapons. One the other side the French, by reason of their often salies, did almost as fast decrease, for, beinge by nature firy, active, im- The English are reinforced, and urged to exertion by the Duke of Norfolk.

A.D. 1560. patient, and bold, they were so desirous to hurt their enimies, as they did not sufficiently consider the meanes to hurt them. Upon a certeyne eveninge, about x of the clocke, an affray happened betwene two Scotts that watched in the trenches next to the towne, insomuch that one of them slue the other, parts were taken, and a great disorder did followe. This might have set the whole armie in tumult, but that the French had not the pacience to expect till so faire an occasion might be ripened. For so soone as they perceyved some extraordinary stirre, they salied forth, supposinge to make advantage of the contention. But this happened to be the fittest remedie that could have bene divised to set them at one; for, upon the veiwe of a common enimie, their division was soone appeased: the common enimie made them freinds, made them knit togither,—first, for their common deffence, afterward for their common victorie. At another tyme they salied forth at the releif of the warders, when the watch should be set, with intention and hope to have gayned the trenches, but they were resolutely receyved, and beaten backe to the place of their strenght. At another tyme the French, being short of provision of foode, went forth in manie companies to gather cockles upon the sand; the Englishe permitted them to gather for a tyme, aswell to dissolve their order thereby, as also that the charge of some praye would both hinder their fightinge and hasten them to flie; then they charged, slue 70, and toke 16 prisoners. Diverse other actions of warre were enterchanged betwene them, not without larg losse to either partie; amonge others of those within the towne, two Scotts of name were slaine, Captaine Kenedie and yong Henry Dannimond; of those without, a Scottishe gentleman, called the Lord of Cleigh, lost his life.

Continued sallies of the French.

All this while the Englishe armie was well furnished with victualls from all parts of Scotland, and that upon very easy prises. But the French was so streightly girt up within Lieth,

that no supplies was brought unto them. Hereupon they grewe very short in strength of men, and no lesse short in provision of foode for those men which they had; the one happeninge to them by the force of their enimies, the other either by disabilitie or negligence of their freinds; so, their old stoore beinge spent, they were inforced to make use of euery thinge out of which hunger was able to drawe norishement. The fleshe of horses was then more daintie then ever they esteemed venison before; doggs, catts, and vermine of more vile nature were highelie valued; vines were striped of their leaves and tender stalkes; grasse and weedes were picked up, and, beinge well seasoned with hunger, were reputed amonge [them] for dainties and dilicate dishes; in a word, this enimie within their entrales was farr more furious then was the enimie without the walles, and the feble state of the towne was not unknowne to the Englishe armie; for that one Scattergood, an Englishe gunner, fled into Lieth for committinge of manslaughter (as he gave forth) within the campe, who, beinge receyved by the French, and abiding certeyne daies amonge them, returned agayne to the camp, with certeyne advertisement, that the enimies were emptie both of present meanes and future hope to susteyne their lyves. They also within Inskieth were reduced to the last extremitie, but neither the one nor the other would render the places which they held, and assuredly their valour was not so terrible as was their obstinacie, beinge desperately bent either to maynteyne the enterprise, or else to die.

A.D. 1560. Their distress for want of food.

But it often happeneth that men in distresse and readie to falle are suddenlie relcived by some unexpected accident: so at this tyme Count de Randon, and Monluc, Bishop of Valence, Commissioners for the French Kinge, had obteyned of the Quene of England, that she should send Commissioners into Scotland to treate aswell with them as with [the] Quene Regent and the Lords of Scotland, of some reasonable meanes to appease these

The English Queen sends Commissioners to treat

A.D. 1560.

said effects of armes. To which purpose she sent with the French Embassadors William Cecill, Knight, her principall Secretary, of whom hereafter very much shalbe said; and, with him, Doctor Wotton, Deane of Canterbury and of Yorke, and one of the privie counsell, furnished with most ample authoritie to deale in these affaires.* They arrived at Barwicke upon the xiij. of June; from thence they passed to the Englishe armie, and, after they had bene lively saluted with a peale of shot, were forthwith conducted to Edenburgh.

with the Queen Regent.

Sir William Cecil and Dr. Wotton the Commissioners.

The Queen Regent dies before their arrival.

Here they fownd that the Quene Regent of Scotland, consumed partly with care and greif, and partlie with incurable sickenes, had finished the course of her mortalitie a fewe daies before their comminge. She was a ladie of lif innocent, in wit florishinge, religious in purpose, ruled and measured in all her actions. She was loved while she lived, and, after her death, lamented by the Skotts; aswell for mainteyninge good justice amonge them, as for mild moderation in all her behaviour, whereby she did beare out manie disorders of court. But her favour did more forceably incline to the Catholick religion and faction of the French, than the state of Scotland at that tyme could well endure. Her bodie was conveied by sea into France, to the Abbey of Fescampe, from whence it was carried to the Abbey of St. Peter at Rhemes, where her sister was Abbesse, and there buried. Her death much discouraged the French within Lieth, and also the Embassadours that were come out of France; who, notwithstandinge, entered into conference with the Englishe Embassadours, both parties advisinge dailie with diverse Lords of Scotland.

Her character.

Interred at Rheims.

June 17th. An armistice agreed upon.

By reason of this treatie, upon the xvij. of June, a surcease of armes was agreed upon betwene the Englishe and the French, warnicinge beinge given by dischargeinge two peces of great

* Vide their Commission in the Fœdera, xv. 396.

artillerie out of Edenburgh Castle, whereupon the French advanced themselves boldlie upon their rampieres. This abstinence was observed untill the xxij. of June, and then againe was broken of. A.D. 1560. June 22nd. The armistice broken off.

Upon the iiij. of Julie, in the afternoone, the French came out of Lieth to gather cockles, which, since the begininge of the treaty they accustomed to doe; but at that tyme they ranged beyond their ordinary limitts. The Generall sent a drumme to Mounsier Doysell, to declare unto him, that he should reteyne his soldiers within their usuall bownds. Doysell answered that they were not soldiers, but poore people of the towne. The drumme replied, that, whosoeuer they were, if they did adventure further then they should, the Generall would do his best to drive them backe. Doysell agayne answered, that if he so did, he would do the best he could to releive them. Hereupon the Englishe charged, both with horse and foote, slue 50, and toke manie of the residue prisoners. July 4th. Skirmish between the English and French.

Presentlie after this the peace was concluded: whereupon order was given to the soldiers that warded in the trenches, and upon the bulwarkes, that no shew of hostilitie should be made; so upon Sondaie, the vij. of Julie, two Englishe knights and two French gentlemen were sent into Lieth, to advertise this agrement to Monseir Doysell, the Bishop of Amiens, La Brosse, Martignes, and to other Lords and Captaynes within the towne. Peace concluded. July 7th. The peace announced to the garrison of Leith,

Hereupon proclamacion was made, that the most mightie Princesse Quene Elyzabeth, by the grace of God Quene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the fayth, &c. and the most Christian Kinge Frances and Mary, by the same grace of God Kinge and Quene of France and Scotland, have accorded upon a reconciliacion of peace and amitie, to be inviolably kept, betwene them, their subiects, kingdomes and countries, that therefore, in their names, it is streghtly commanded to all maner of persons and proclaimed.

A.D. 1560. borne under their obeysances, or beinge in their services, to forbeare all hostilitie, either by sea or by land, and to kepe good peace each with other, from that tyme forward, as they would answere thereunto at their uttermost perills.

Banquet given by French garrison to those who came with tidings of peace.

This proclamacion beinge made, the gentlemen before mencioned were carried to Mounseir Doysell's lodginge, where a banquet of 30 or 40 dishes was prepared for them, and not any of fishe or flesshe, except on onlie of powdered horseflesshe; and albeit the French were glad they were deliuered from so extreame both danger and want, yet remayned they offended, regardinge more that the Englishe had drawen these evills upon them, then that they were the meanes to set them free. The Commissioners stood not longe to debate the condicions, by reason both of the necessitie of the French, and of the moderacion of the Englishe, the on yeldinge to all with a naturall facilitie, the other demandinge nothinge which did not tend rather to substantiall goode, then to a vaine smoake of glorie, which never perceth deper then opinion.

Terms of the treaty.

The articles of the peace were these.*

1. That the Kinge and Quene of France and Scotland should relinquishe the stile, title and armes of England and Ireland, and forbeare from thenceforth to use or beare the same, and also forbid their subiects to use, or the usinge of, that title or armes in any sort within their countries or dominions; and also forbid, as much as in them lieth, any manier of joyninge or quarteringe the armes of England with them of Scotland or France.

2. That all letters patents and other writtings which had bene formerly made in such stile, or sealed with such armes, should be renued and reformed, without puttinge them to the title and armes

* The Treaty is printed in the Fœdera, xv. 591, and the separate convention for the destruction of the fortifications of Leith, fold. 591.

of England and Ireland; and whatsoever writtinge should not so be reformed within six monethes, to be utterly void. A.D. 1560.

3. That Scotland should be governed by a counsell of xij of the cheif of the nobilitie of that realme, seaven of them to be nominated by the Scottishe Quene, and five by the Lords assembled in Parliament; and this nominacion to be made out of the number of 24 which should be elected by the whole bodie of the Parliament.

4. That all thinges passed in Scotland against the authoritie of the Quene of Scotts betwene the tenth day of March 155[8] and the first daie of August 1560, should be overpassed and forgotten, and the suertie of the same confirmed by Parliament, which should be holden in Edenburgh in the moneth of August next ensuinge, by commission to be sent from the Kinge and Quene of France, and that every man should be refered to his office within the realme of Scotland.

5. That no Frenchman should beare anie office in Scotland.

6. That all Frenchmen should depart out of Scotland by sea within xx daies next ensueinge, except onely 120 soldieres which should remayne, in Dunbarr 60, and so manie in Inskieth, to kepe a kind of possession for the French Kinge and Quene, and these to receyve paie from the counsaile of Scotland.

7. That no munition or victualls should be brought into Scotland out of France, but from sixe monethes to six monethes; and then onlie for those places, and the said number of 120 soldieres.

8. That no forreyne ships, or men of warre, should be brought into Scotland but by consent of the Scotts.

9. That the walles of Lieth should be throwen downe, and the fortifications demolished by veiwe of the commissioners of the Quene of England, in such sort as they should thinck fit.

10. That the fort which had bene raised by the French before the Castle of Dunbarr should also be defaced.

A. D. 1560.

11. That matters of religion should stand in Scotland in the same condicion where in they were, without any change.

12. That the league betwene the Quene of England and the Lords of Scotland should stand without renovacion or revocation.

13. Lastly, the French Kinge and Quene were by a speciall clause bownd to the Quene of England to performe and kepe all such covenants as concerned the realme and subiects of Scotland.

The French troops embark in English vessels.

These articles beinge concluded, the Frenchmen that were in Scotland, bycause they had no shipinge of their owne, were imbarked in Englishe vessells at Lieth, only some remayned as pledges untill the English ships should returne, and a fewe were permitted to passe through England into France. Then the fortifications about Lieth and Dunbarr were beaten downe; and, lastly, the Englishe forces retired fairely out of Scotland, without reteyninge or spoilinge any places, without doing violence, without layeing heavy condicions upon anie persons, without making advantage of any man's necessities; whereas fewe princes will enter into forreyne warres with travaile and expenses, but to gayne dominion over them for whom they fight. By this honorable and upright dealinge, the Quene of England purchased farre greater both reputacion and assurance to herself, then she should have done by reteyning a great part of Scotland in her hands; for it is an unfalible propertie of fortune, when victories are not used with justice and moderacion, to defile their glory with some unexpected accident.

The English forces retire into England.

Importance of the treaty they concluded.

It is certeyne that if we respect either the preparacions, or the atchivements, or the continuance of this warre, it was not great; but if we regard the end which it atteyned, or* the effects which did ensue, it was a very great and weightye warre, the most important service that the Englishe performed in many yeares be-

* "Of" in MS.

fore; for hereby the realme of England did remove a dangerous neighbour, and a pretence to the crowne was disavowed, which, in these waveringe tymes, might have produced troublesome effect. The realme of Scotland pulled out of the Frenchmen's gripe, who, partlie upon colour of supportinge religion, and partly under conteynance of the yong Quene, did suppose themselves suerly seized thereof; also the people were confirmed, both in government and in religion, and especially in peace with England, which, continuinge more then xl yeares, did weare out that hatred betweene the two nations which former hostilitie had made almost naturall, and made preparacion to the present union of these ij realmes, which before could neither by amitie nor by armes be contrived. Assuredly the troubles in France, which then were growen to a very high head, were the principall meanes that this peace was so easilie atteyned, the French nobilitie beinge more ambicious to have dominion at home then to reduce strangers to their subiection. A. D. 1560.

And thus, in Scotland, armies were dissolved, armes laid downe, all feare and* hope of all parties did cease. The Quene of England was better pleased that she should establishe a peace by wisdome then if she had ended the warre by battle and blood, haveinge obteyned the true end of one that is assailed, onlie to repell the enimie, without so greate either losse or shame, as might both renue and encrease the danger. And so should warres begin with justice, proceed with valour and wisdome, and end with clemencie.

This yeare, in the end of September, the copper monnies which had bene coyned under King Henry the Eight, and once before abased by Kinge Edward the Sixth, were agayne brought to a lower† valuacion. The teston of the best sort, marked with the port-culleis, which had bene coyned for twelvepence, and afterward embased to sixpence, was then brought downe to fourpence September. Further abasement of the copper coinage.

* "of" in MS. † "greater" in MS.

A. D. 1560. halfpenny. That of the second sort, marked with the greyhownd, which had bene coyned for sixpence, was brought downe to twopence. The third and worst, not marked, was made of no valuacion at all. The groat was brought downe to twopence, and the two pence to a penie. In short tyme after all these base coynes were called into the minte, and allowance was made of fine sterlinge monie for them, accordinge to the rate before expressed; also about this tyme, the French crowne, which then went currant for vj^{s} iiij^{d}, was proclaymed to be but vj^{s}.

Base money called in,

and French crowns reduced in value.

In the moneth of Julie, certeyne gunpowder was fired in Crooked Lane by crooked and carelesse dischargeinge of a peice, with the violence whereof, fower howses were torne and cast up, and diverse other sore shaken; nine persons were slayne outright, and manie more greivouslie hurt.

July. Accident from gunpowder in Crooked Lane.

THE THIRD YEARE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The Lordes of Scotland beeing now setled in security of peace, sent the Earles of Morton and Glencarne, and the young Lord of Ledington, Embassadoures into England, to give thankes to the Queene for her honorable ayde against the French, and to assure unto her all offices of amity from them, offering alsoe the best among them (whom they esteemed to be the Earl of Arrane) to be disposed in marriage at her pleasure. And in truth they did afterwardes very constantly carry themselves, not onely in holding faythfull frendshipp, but in reposing greate confidence in the fayth and strength of the English state. Insomuch as when Noale, an Embassadour out of France, propounded iij poyntes unto them in publick assembly, 1. To renew ther auncient amity with France; 2. To abandon ther league with England; 3. To restore preistes to ther former livings: ther answere was, that they wer not guilty of any breach of frendshipp with France, but the French had

Embassy from Scotland to the English Queen.

Fidelity of the Scottish Lordes to their engagements with England, and their answer to the

many wayes violated ther fayth to them, especially of late, in seeking to subvert the liberty of ther countrey, and to reduce them to a servile conditione; that in perswading [them] to abandon their league with England, they seemed to deale as the fable reporteth of the woolves, whoe perswaded the sheepe to put awaye ther dogges, to the end that the woolves and they might fasten perpetuall frendshipp together; that, towching the restitutione of those whom they called preistes, they knew neyther office nor use for them in the church. A. D. 1560. proposals of Noailles.

In December, Francis the French King changed his life; whereuppon the Queene of Scotes, being then a widow and dowager of France, remooved from Orleance, wher the court then laye, to Reimes in Chambeigne, and ther remayned for a tyme. Here many diswaded her from returning to Scotland, laying before her as well the danger of the journey (especially for that it was thought to be litle favoured by the Queene of England) as alsoe the nature both of the country of Scotland, neyther pleasant nor plentifull in comparison of France, and likewise of the people, whoe sometymes had shewed themselves hard to be held in bridle even by the arme and authoritie of men. Notwithstanding, the Queene, beeing nothing pleased to remayne in France, in other conditione then formerly shee had bene, and the rather for that shee would not be at the curtesy and command of the old Queene mother, whoe much swayed the affayres of France, and from whom she did expect but litle favor, resolved to returne into Scotland. In which purpose shee was confirmed by her uncles, the Cardinall of Lorraine, the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Daumale, and the Marquesse Dalbœuf. For they, rising into hopes not so honorable as high, did suppose that her presence in Scotland might be much to ther designes, by reasone of diuers services and helpes, which ther shee might better procure from that natione, then if shee should remayne in France. Hereuppon shee moved discourse with her selfe, December. Death of Francis II. husband of Mary of Scotland. She determines to return into Scotland.

A. D. 1561. that the dangeres of the journey shee had undergone before; the feare from the Queene of England she ment to remoove by procuringe good assurance from her; the countrie of Scotland shee esteemed not soe farr inferiour to France as a private persone is inferiour to a prince. And that for twoe respects that countrie did suite well anough with her likeing, one, for that it was the place of her birth, the other for that it was the seate of her sovereigntie. The disorderes which had sometyme beene raysed by the people, shee much imputed to unskilfull gouernment, in striving to reduce them to a stricter subjectione then that whereto they had beene accustomed. But, whensoever ther kings attempted not to impeach ther liberty, they lived without danger of honor, or of life; they wer not onely mainteined free from inward tumultes, but made invincible against ther enemyes. Shee nothing mistrusted the disability of her sexe; for, besides a generall respect that men beare towardes women, in regard whereof many people would bee governed onely by princes of that sexe; besides her large indowments of nature, a lovely and lively countenance, a fayre feature, fine and percing witt, a mild and modest dispositione, and then in the flower of beauty and youth (strong strings to draw men to duty and love); besides an affable and curteous behaviour, fashioned by her educatione in the court of France,—shee intended not to make any alteratione from the present state of affayres in Scotland. Soe shee prepared for her passage, and in the meane tyme went into Lorraine to take leave of her kindred by the motheres side.

An English fleet at sea during the time of Mary's passage from France to Scotland.

The Queene of England about this tyme sett foorth certeyne of her greate shippes to sea, according to the yearely customs of the realme, to guard the coastes, to scoure the seas, and to be in a redinesse for all adventures. This was interpreted by some to be done for intercepting the Queene of Scotts in her passage; whereupon shee sent the Abbot of St. Colmes Inch to the Queene of England, to require a safe conduct, in case shee should be en-

forced by any accident to land in England. Shee sent alsoe Monsieur Doysell to passe through England into Scotland, their to receive the fortes of Dunbarre and Inskieth of Monsieur Charlebois, and to keepe them untill her comeinge thither. A. D. 1561.

Mary requests a safe conduct from Elizabeth, and sends D'Oysell to pass through England into Scotland.

Monsieur Doysell was stayed at London, for it was conceived that his presence in Scotland would not onely breede distrust and discord among the Lordes, as having bin one of the principall authores of all the troubles the yeere before, but alsoe be nothing safe for the Queen; because it is noe lesse dangerous to Princes to have hatefull men in place of office and authoritie neere unto them, then if they should be hateful themselves. The safe conduct was granted,* and all offices of honor assured to the Queene of Scottes, which, in regard eyther of amity or of bloode, shee could expect, in case it should stand with her pleasure to take her journey through England; but, if shee should passe that waye and not vouchsafe to visit the Queene, it would be taken in very evill part. Before the Abbot was returned with his message, and safe conduct to Calleis, the Queene of Scotts, having the advantage both of a greate callme and thicke mist, adventured to sea in certayne French gallies, and arrived safely in the roade of Lieth. The mist covered them from the sight of the English

D'Oysell is stayed in London.

Mary sailed before the return of her messenger.

* Hayward is here mistaken. The published correspondence of this period establishes beyond question that the passport was refused. Cecil, writing to the Earl of Sussex, says—"Many reasons moved us to myslike her passadg, but this onely served us for answer, that where she had promised to send the Quene's Majestie a good answer for the ratification of the last league of peace made in Edenburgh, and now had sent none, her Majestie wold not disguise with her, but playnely wold forbeare to shew her such pleasure untill she shuld ratify it; and, that done, she shold not only have free passadg, but all helpes and gratuities."—Wright's Queen Elizabeth, i. 66. Other letters having reference to the same subject will be found in the Cabala and in the Hardwicke State Papers. The best—and certainly the most interesting—account of this transaction, and of Mary's voyage home, with which I am acquainted, is that of Sir James Mackintosh, in his History of England, iii. 53.

A.D. 1561.

shippes, which, alsoe by reasone of the calme, wer unable to stirre; yet was one shipp taken by the English and brought to London, wherein the Earle of Eglinton and some otheres of the Scottish nobility did passe; but it was presently discharged, and permitted freely to depart. In company of the Queene of Scottes went three of her uncles, the Duke Daumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquesse Dalboeufe; and, with them, Monsieur Danvill, the Constables sonne, and divers others of the nobility of France. The Duke Daumale, after a small staye in Scotland, departed againe towardes France with the shippes; the other three remayned longer, and passed through England into France.

Her companions upon her return to Scotland.

Mary sends an Ambassador to England,

The Queen of Scotts, in a short tyme after her arrivall, sent an Embassadour * into England to salute the Queene, to declare her good affectione, and the desire that shee had to preserve peace and frendshipp betweene them. He brought alsoe letteres from the nobility of Scotland, conteyning a curteous remembrance of her former favoures, with like requeat, that, as well in publicke as private actions, shee would expresse a true inclinatione toward their Queene, to provoke her thereby not onely to embrace the present peace, but by mutuall offices of love and good will, dayly to assure the same; that, as they, for their partes, woulde omitt noe occasiones to perpetuate the peace betweene the twoe realmes, soe it laye then in her power altogether to extinguish as well the memory of former variances, as the sparkes of all dissentiones afterward, if shee would declare, by act of Parliament, that, next to her selfe, and such issue as shee might bring foorth, their Queene was heyre to the Crowne of England. The Embassadour inlarged by many argumentes that this request was both reasonable in it selfe and exceeding beneficiall to both the realmes;

who requests that her title to the English throne, as Elizabeth's presump-

* This was the celebrated Maitland of Lethington. Hayward's account of his embassy, and his various interviews with Elizabeth, is founded upon Buchanan's History of Scotland, lib. xvij.

that it was expected that none should be more forward therein then the Queene herselfe, to testify thereby her love to ther Queene, as beeing the neerest unto her in bloode. A. D. 1561. tive successor, may be recognized by act of Parliament.

To this the Queene, with countenance full of comely majesty, made answeare, that it was another embassage which shee did expect: "For I marveile," sayde shee, "that your Queene should forgett, how, before her departure out of France, after long importunity, at last shee promised to ratify and confirme the conditiones of peace concluded at Lieth; and that, soe soone as shee should returne into her realme, I should heare from her concerning that matter. I have now beene delayed long anough; it is now tyme (if you beare an eye to the honor of your Queene) that wordes should be seconded with effectes." Elizabeth professes her astonishment that Mary delayed to ratify the treaty of Leith.

The Embassadour of Scotland excused his Queene, for that he was sent upon this embassage within a fewe dayes after her landinge, when shee had not dealt in any publicke affayres of the realme; when shee was onely buisied in interteyning the nobility and taking particular knowledge of them; when shee was much troubled with the troubled and uncertayne state of religione; when shee had noe free tyme to deliberate with her lordes (as in an actione of soe high nature it was fitt), seeing thos that abode in the north parts of the realme at that tyme wer not come unto her. The Ambassador's reply.

Then the Queene, with gesture and voyce somewhat more quick—"And what deliberatione was requisite," sayd shee, "for performance of that, whereto shee was bound under her hand and seale? Is that onely a greate buysinesse of state, and is not this alsoe wherein nowe you deale? It is* of greater moment to confirme a League then to assure successione. What? will you rather clayme courtesies then dischardge debts? Are you desirous to have your Queene acknowledged an heyre, and shall Elizabeth's angry answer.

* "Is it," in MS.

A.D. 1561. shee not acknowledge her selfe a frend? Assurely, it is reasone, that, by ratyfying the League, shee first declare her selfe a frend, before you require her to be declared an heyre."

The Embassadour had nothing to saye; but onely, that he had nothing to saye, for want of instructions concerning that poynt, and therewith desired the Queene to consider what greate causes of impediment the Queene, his mistresse, had.

Her observations respecting the succession.

"Well," answeared the Queene, "you see what a stopp doth lye [in] your waye. And yet, to speake somewhat of the mayne head of your message, you have declared at large that your Queene is descended from the race of the Kings of England; and that, by a natural obligatione, I am bound to love her, as beeing neerest unto me in blood: all this I neyther will, nor cann, nor must, deny. Yea, I have manifested to all the world, that I never acted, or attempted any thing against her safety, or the tranquillity of her state. And many, whoe are privy to my most secret intentiones, doe know right well, that, when shee gave mee just cause of offence by assuming the armes and title of my kingdome, I would never be induced to beleeve but that the seedes of hatred wer cast rather from other then from herselfe. But, howsoever shee is descended, I suppose that during my life shee will not wrest the scepter out of my hand; I suppose shee will not debarre thos children which possibly I may bring foorth, from succeeding in my place: in other cases shee shall never find any thing done by mee to prejudice her right. What that right is, I have not hitherto exactly examined; I intend not deeply to search into it; I leave this questione to be debated by the judgment of thos whom it shall concerne. But, if the cause of your Queene be just, let her assuredly expect that it shall noe wayes be impayred by mee. And I take God to my judge, who knoweth our secretes better then our selves, that I know none, next my selfe, that I would preferr before her. I know none, if the matter should come

into questione, whoe, eyther in title or in power, are able to oppose against it. You are not ignorant what competitores shee hath. With what forces of ther owne, with what confidence, eyther of ther cause, or of ther frendes, shall they ever attempt soe greate an actione? But this" (sayd shee) "is a matter of weight, and I never had speach thereof seriously before. There remaynes something more to be sayd, which we will dispatch at another tyme." A.D. 1561.

After a few dayes, the Embassadour beeing againe brought into presence, the Queene seemed to marvaile what the Lordes should intend by this ther abrupt request uppon the very first comeing of ther Queene, especially seeing they could not be ignorant that all offences wer not abolished, that the breach betweene them was not perfectly made upp. "For what is it," sayd shee, "that they doe require? that I, forsooth, whoe have received soe high an injury, without any satisfactione, should gratify her in this greate matter; what is this request short of a threate? If thus they proceede, I would have them understand that I am furnished noe lesse then they, both with force at home and frendes abroad, to mayntayne my right." Another interview between Elizabeth and the Ambassador upon the same subject.

To this he answered, that he had expressed himselfe before, that the Lordes wer induced to make this demand, partly in regard of the duty wherein they stood bound both to preserve the safety and inlarge the dignity of ther Queene, and partly for desire to establish publick peace and concord betweene the twoe realmes; that they wer moved to deale more freely with her then they would have done with any other Prince, as well uppon proofe of her exceeding favor towardes them, as alsoe uppon care for the preservation of themselves; as foreseeing that ther lives and ther fortunes should be sett at the stake, if any should oppose against the right of ther Queene, if the twoe realmes should side into armes for this cause.

A.D. 1561. Elizabeth's further observations respecting the succession.

"Indeede" (sayd the Queene) "if I had attempted any thing to the prejudice of your Queene, then had the cause of your demand beene just. But in this request, whilest I am alive, in good state of body, in the principall strength and flourish of my yeares, I should have my wynding sheete presented unto mee. This exceedes all example: the like was never required of any prince before. And yett the mynd of your nobility I take in good part, for that I perceive they have a desire to advance the dignity of their Queene. I doe not lesse allow ther wisedome, both in providing ther owne safety, and in preventing the expense of Christian bloode, wherof (I confesse) ther would follow some losse, if any other factione should stand for the crowne. But what factione maye that bee? With what eyther right or power shall it be supported? But, goe to, suppose, for the tyme, that I wer inclinable to your desire, that I would consent to this declaratione, doe you thinke that I would doe this to satisfy the pleasure of the Lordes rather then to gratify ther Queene herselfe? Many other respects doe strongly withdraw mee. First, for that I am not ignorant how dangerous it is to blow these coales. I have had good reasone (mee thinke) alwayes to forbeare to move disputatione and doubts concerning this matter. The controversy of marryage, allowed or voyd, the questione of issue, lawfull or unlawfull, hath beene soe often, and by soe many witts, canvased on both sydes, whilest every man favoureth one party or another, that, for this cause, I have beene hitherto the lesse forward to marriage. I was once marryed to this realme at my coronatione, in token whereof I weare this ring; howsoever thinges stand, I will be Queene of England soe long as I live; after my death lett them succeede to whom in right it shall apperteyne. If that be your Queene (as I know not whoe should be before her), I will not be against it. I will be noe impediment unto her. If ther be any law against her title, I am ignorant thereof. But this I know, that

in successione of kingdomes, the fundamentall law of the crowne of the realme, the immutable law of nature and of nations (which proceedeth by propinquity of bloude) is more regarded then eyther secrett implicationes or expresse cautiones of positive lawes. A.D. 1561.

"For that you assume, in the second place, that, uppon this declaratione, the freindshipp would be more firme betweene us, I feare you are deceived: I feare it would be rather an originall of hatred. It is naturall, indeede, for parentes to favour the successione of ther children, to be carefull for it, to provide for it, to assure it by all meanes unto them, because nature is of force to extinguish both the cause and the care of other respectes. But, in more distant degrees, it is almost peculiar to kings to be jealous of those whoe are in next expectatione to succeede. Yea, Charles the vijth, King of France, how was he affected to Lewes the xjth? Agayne, how was Lewes affected towarde Charles the eight? or how was Francis of late toward Henry the second? Is it like, then, that I shall beare any better affectione towardes one that is noe neerer in kindred to mee then your Queene, when shee shalbe once declared myne heyre? Is it like that I shall be well pleased in regard of her, with continuall vew of myne owne herse? Add hereto, that which I esteeme of greatest moment, I am well acquainted with the nature of this people; I know how easily they dislike the present state of affayres; I know what nimble eyes they beare to the next successione; I know it to be naturall that more (as the saying is) doe adore the rising then the falling sunne. To omitt other examples, I have learned this by experience of myne owne tymes. When my sister Mary was Queene, what prayeres were made by many to see mee placed in her seate; with what earnest desire wer they carryed for my advancement. I am not ignorant with what dangeres men would have adventured the event of ther counsayles, if my will had beene applyable to ther desires. Now, happely, the same men are not of the same mynd,

A. D. 1561. But, as children, which, dreaming that apples are given them, whilest they sleepe are exceeding glad, but waking and finding themselves deceived of ther hope they fall to crying: soe some of them, who did highly favour mee when I was called Elizabeth, whoe, if I did cast a kind countenance uppon them, did foorthwith conceive that, soe soone as I should atteyne the crowne, they should be rewarded rather according to theire desires then ther desertes, now, finding ther happ not answearable to ther hope (because noe prince is able to fill the insatiable gulfe of menes desires), they would happely be content with another change, uppon possibility thereby to better ther state. Now then, if the affectiones of our people grow faynt, if ther myndes change uppon bearing a moderate hand in distributions of rewardes and giftes, or uppon some other cause more light, what maye we looke for when evill-mynded men shall have a forreine prince appoynted the certayne successor to the crowne, to whom they maye carry all their complayntes? In how greate danger shall I bee (doe you thinke) when a prince soe powerfull, soe neere unto mee, shall be declared my successor? to whom soe much strength as I shall add by confirming her successione, soe much security shall I detract from my selfe. Neyther can the danger be avoyded by any assurances and bandes of law, for that princes, in hope of a kingdome, will not easily conteyne themselves within the limitts of any lawe. Assuredly, if my successour wer knowen to the world, I should never esteeme my state to be safe."

Conversation, at a third interview, between Elizabeth and the Ambassador.

With thes speeches was that meeting spent. A few dayes after the Embassadour desired to know the Queenes pleasure, whether shee would returne any farther answeare to the letteres of the Scottish nobility.

"For the present" (sayd the Queene) "I have noe other thing to saye, but that I commend both ther love and ther care towardes their Queene, for this is a matter of such conditione, that I cannot

eyther sodaynely or fully answeare unto it. But, when your Queene hath performed that where to shee hath bound her selfe, in confirming the league, then will it be seasonable to make triall of my affectione towardes her. In the meane tyme, I am of opinione that I cannot gratify her herein without some diminutione of myne honour." A. D. 1561.

The Embassadour sayde, that he received noe instructions; that he never had speech with the Queene, his mistresse, concerning that businesse; that the reasones which he used for the right of successione wer not from her but from himselfe; that the confirmatione of the league, whereto the Queene of Scotts was drawen by the French King, her husband, without consent of thos whom it did concerne, was noe such matter as should exclude her and all her posterity from the inheritance of the realme. "But I doe not now inquire" (sayd he) "by whom, when, how, by what authority, or for what cause, this league was made; for that I am not commanded to touch any of thos poyntes. But I dare affirme, that, although it wer ratifyed by our Queene, to please her husband, yett, soe greate matteres depend uppon it, that in tyme shee would search into many reasones, for which it might and should be dissolved. And yett, I speake not this in the name of our Queene, but onely to declare that the nobility of Scotland have greate cause to desire that all dissentions should be pulled upp by the rootes, and a perfect and perpetuall peace established."

To this the Queene breifly answered, that oftentymes our intentiones are good, but yett we fayle of our endes, because we mistake and err in the meanes; that noe meanes can be sufficient to establish a perfect and perpetuall peace, soe long as Princes would search into many reasons for which it might and should be dissolved; that this was (to speake sparingly) a sodayne word; that he might well have forborne to touch that string, and yett

A. D. 1561. shee would not streyne it beyond the compasse of that which, happely, he would call his meaning.

Commissioners appointed for ratification of the League and settlement of the question of succession.

At the last, after a few like interchanges of speach, it was concluded, that Commissioneres should be appoynted for both the Realmes, to revew the conditiones of the League, and that the Queene of Scotts should ratify thos that concerned herselfe and the realme of Scottland; that the Queene of Scotts should not use the armes of the Kings of England, or the titles of the realmes of England and Ireland, soe long as the Queene of England, or any issue of her bloude, should continue in life. On the other side, that neyther the Queene of England, or any of her offspring, shall doe any act to prejudice the right of the Queene of Scotts for successione to the crowne of England. And this was all which at that tyme could be obteyned; whereby it was euedent that the Queene euen at that tyme had noe conceit of any other successor then the Queene of Scotts then, in case shee should dye without issue. The substance of this suite was not disallowed by her, or any other; but that it was so unseasonably begunne, and soe immoderately followed, many did dislike.

Warlike preparationes made in England.

And now it had bin discovered by the late warres in Scottland, that the realme, through negligence of former tymes, was but weakely furnished with any manner of military provisione. Hereuppon the Queene, in peace not unmyndfull of warre, caused such preparatione to be made of armour, weapones, and all kind of furniture for the feild, as might suffice not onely for necessity of defence, but for the setting foorth of any enterprise that might perhappes be sodaynely occasioned.

April. Punishment of Geffry and More, accused of heresy.

This yeare, in Aprill, one William Geffry was whipped from the Marshall-sea, in Southwarke, untill he came to Bedlame, without Bishopsgate, for affirming that one John More, whoe then laye in Bedlame, was Jesus Christ, and that the same Geffrye was his disciple; uppon his heade was sett a paper, wherein was expressed the quality of his offence, in thes wordes—"William

Geffrye, a most blasphemous hereticke, denying Christ our Saviour [to be] in heaven." At Bedlame, John More was brought fourth, before whom Geffrye was whipped, untill he confessed that Jesus Christ was in heaven. Then was More examined, who answearing both stoutly and crosly, was commanded to put offe his apparrell, which he readily perfourmed, and then was tyed to a cart. But scarce had he bin whipped one bow-shott in length, but he confessed that Jesus Christ was in heaven, and that he, the sayd More, was a miserable man. Then was More returned prisoner to Bedlame, and Geffrye to the Marshall-sea, where they had remayned prisoneres about a yeere and a halfe before. I have sett downe this as a notable president to convince and reclayme hereticks both obstinate and absurd, especially when they rise to any high pitch of madnesse; for, from some degree, without exceptione, I exempt none. A.D. 1561.

Uppon the fourth of June, in the afternoone, the steeple of Paules, in London, was fired by lightening. The fire was seene to breake foorth about two or three yardes beneath the foote of the Crosse, not much greater in appearance then the flame of a candle, from whence it burned downward, and in short tyme imbraced the whole spire of the steeple, and all the rooffes of the church. This fire was the more terrible, by reasone it was in a conspicuous place, and threatned danger unto many, and was alltogether unapproacheable for remedy, as well in regard of the height of the church as of the falling downe of the moulten lead. The flames flew over many partes of the city; sparkes, and small coales, were cast soe farr as the conduite in Fleete streete; the channelles about the church wer stopped, and the streetes seemed to be paved with leade. The people, being strooke with amazement, filled all places with tumult and confusione, expecting a generall calamity of the city, and, thereuppon, buysying themselves to remove such goodes out of ther howses as they wer

June 4th. Destruction of the steeple of St. Paul's by lightning.

A.D. 1561. most desirous to save. The fury of the fire was soe greate, that, within the space of fowre howres, it burned downe the spire of the steeple and all the rooffes of the church. The timber worke was consumed, the leade moulten, the belles cast downe, which made a hideous noyse in the fall; the stone work, alsoe, especially towardes the topp, was sore shaken and weakened with the force of the fire. And herein wer two things especially admired and observed by some: one was, the sodayne encrease of the fire, for that it was noe sooner begunne, but foorthwith it was at the highest; the other was, that, as if it had beene destined onely for the ruine of that place, it beganne at the topp of the spire of the steeple, and from thence fastened uppon every part of the rooffes of the church, and yet fell not from the rooffes (where the fire did most rage) uppon any of the buildings underneath. Hereuppon strange conjectures wer conceived, as of secret causes, soe of vayne events, which did never ensue.

Measures taken for its restoration.

Immediately uppon this misadventure, the Queene directed her letteres to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London to take speedy order for the repayring of thes harmes; and, for ther better encouragement, shee delivered foorthwith one thousand markes in gould toward the charge, and a warrant for one thousand loades of timber, to be taken out of her woodes or parkes wheresoever. The citizenes of London granted a benevolence, and three fifteenes, to be presently payd. The clergie of the province of Canterbury granted the fortieth part of the yearely valew of thos benefices which payd first fruites, and of those which payd noe first fruits, the thirtieth part. The clergie of the diocesse of London granted the thirtieth part of the yearely valew of such benefices as were charged * with first fruites, and the twentieth part of thos that were charged. † All this, being collected together, with many other voluntary contributiones besides, amounted to the sum of 5,968*li.* 16*s.* 1*d.* ob. Two of the clergie of the

Sum collected.

* "Not charged" in MS. † "See charged" in MS.

church of St. Paule, and sixe citizenes of London, wer appoynted to oversee and sett forward the worke, who used such diligence in ther charge, that, within one month after the firing of the church, all the fower greate roofes wer covered with a sleight roofe of boordes and leade, onely to preserve the walles, floores, and vaultes, from the enjurie of the rayne. And, before the yeare was expired, all the long rooffes wer raysed of new and strong timber, the most part whereof was framed in Yorkshire, and by sea conveyed to London: the charges of which worke amounted to the summe of 5,982li. 13s. 4d. ob. A.D. 1561. Amount expended.

Soe the receites wer fully expended; and yett the two crosse-roofes, which stand north and south, were not finished, but remayned still covered with boardes untill the yeare 1564. At which tyme they wer raysed and perfected at the onely charge of Edmund Grindall, then Bishopp of London, whoe expended, out of his proper estate, 720li. in finishing that worke. This Bishopp was a man famous, whilest he lived, for his deepe judgment, both in learning and affayres of the world; famous, alsoe, both for his industry and gift in preaching; but cheifly he was famous for his magnanimous courage, in that it was noe lesse easy to divert the sunne from his proper course, then to pervert him to indirect actiones. Hereuppon, because he stoode inflexible, eyther to a bad cause or from a good, because his authority could not be made serviceable eyther to the ambitione or lustes of otheres, certayne greate persones wer displeased against him, and drew uppon him some displeasure from the Queene. But, for that he was not fearefull of the losse of his dignity, he was esteemed by her the more worthy to retayne it. And yet I am not assured that the memory of his vertues would not have worne out, if this [the] last worke (worthie of any account) which, since that tyme, hath hitherto bin bestowed uppon the church of St. Paule, had not beene an occasione to preserve them in lyfe. The cross-roofs finished by Bishop Grindall, A.D. 1564. Character of that prelate.

A.D. 1561.

St. Paul's church founded by Ethelbert.

Burnt down in the 20th year of William the Conqueror.

Begun to be rebuilt.

Incloased with a stone wall.

The steeple finished in the 6th year of Henry III.

Dedicated in the 24th year of Henry III.

Its dimensions.

The steeple fired by lightning in the 22nd year of Henry VI.

The Church of St. Paule in London was first built by Ethelbert, the first Christiane King of the Saxones, wherein Melitus (one of those fowre whoe wer sent by Pope Gregory to convert the Saxones) was appoynted to have his sea. This church was ruined in the 20th yeare of William the Victor, by a raging fire, which did prostrate the greatest part of the city of London. Hereupon Maurrice, at that tyme Bishopp of London, beganne the foundatione of the new Church of St. Paule; a worke so admirable that many conjectured it would never have bin finished. Rychard, his next successor, as well in vertue as in place, purchased the ground about the church, whereuppon many buildings did stand, and incloased it with a strong wall of stone for a place of buriall, of which walle many partes continue at this tyme on both sides of the church, but covered and obscured with dwelling houses. He expended all the revenues of his Bishopricke in advancing the building of this church, and maynteyned himselfe uppon his patrimony and freindes, and yet all which he could doe, made noe greate shew. And albeit the succeedinge Bishoppes did with all diligence drive on the worke, yet was not the building of the steeple finished untill the sixth yeare of King Henry the Third, neyther could it be made fitt for dedicatione untill the 24th yeare of the same King's reigne. In that yeare it was dedicated by Roger Bishopp of London, the King beeing present, attended with many personages of honour, whoe wer all feasted by the bishopp and canonnes of the same church. The length of this churche is 720 foote, the bredth thereof 130; the height of the steeple was 520 foote, whereof the stone worke, which still remayneth, is 260, and the spire, now burned, was likewise 260. The bodye of the church is a 150 foote in height.

In the 22th yeare of K. Henry the Sixth, uppon Candlemas Eve, in the afternoone, this steeple was fired by lightening, about the very middest of the spire or shaft. But at that tyme it was quenched, especially by the devise and diligence of a preist of St.

Mary Bow in Cheape; howbeit the worke was given over, as unfeasible by many. At divers other tymes it had bin torne and defaced, partly by wyndes, and partly by lightening, even when all meanes had bin used, both for exquisite workmanshipp and substantiall stuffe, to make it strong and durable against all violence. After this last calamity v have bin often made by what meanes, and at what charge, the steeple might be restored againe to the same state and statelinesse wherein it stoode before it was fired; but the enterprise did not take, partly in regard of the greatnesse of the worke, and partly in regard of the small assurance that such buildings can have against the like casualties, and soe many men are content to conteyne themselves within a firme midling estate, beneath envy and above contempt. A.D. 1561.

Uppon this adventure certayne orderes wer devised and sett downe by the aldermen and commons of London for relieving the city against any calamity by fire, whereby provisione was made both for giving ready knowledge of the place, and for speedy suppressing the danger, and alsoe for preserving the goodes of such persones uppon whose howses the mischeife should rage. Orders devised for protection of the city of London against fire.

In November the Queene restored to the realme divers small peeces of silver, namely the vj^{d}, iiij^{d}, ij^{d}, j^{d}, three halfe-pence, and three farthings. All forren coynes, as well gold as silver, wer forbidden, and called into the mynt, except two sortes of crownes, the French and the Flemish. November. Alterations in the coinage.

This yeare there was a greate scarcity of corne, and consequently a dearth of all other victualles, but wheate and rye wer supplyed from beyond the seas in a good proportione; whereby it happened that the city of London, which, in fruitfull yeares, receiveth the abundance of all other partes of the realme, did, in this tyme of scarcity, supply all ther defectes. The people, beeing sufficiently buysied how to live, seemed to attend noe other thoughtes; noe warres wer abroade, noe tumultes at home, noe dangeres threatened, none probably feared. Onely the eyes of the state Great scarcity of corn, and large importation of wheat and rye into England.

A.D. 1561. wer fixed uppon the troublesome affayres of France, which at this tyme beganne to blaze in such flames as could not be quenched without much bloude. Thes fires wer kindled, nourished, and brought to the height, uppon this occasione, and by thes meanes, which now I must breifly declare.

THE FOURTH YEAR OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Retrospect of affairs in France.

Character of Francis II.

After the death of Henry the Second, Francis, his sonne, succeeded to the crowne of France; a King yong in yeares, weake in judgment, raw in experience, and alltogether governed by his mother, and by the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall of Lorrayne, uncles to his wife. And with thes the common courtieres went, whoe commonly doe stoope to the strongest. On the other side, the princes of the bloud, having neyther credit nor countenance in the court, complayned of many indignityes and wronge presently offered, and more fearce in tyme to be expected; and, with thes, the nobility, for the most part, did side.

Factiones of the Duke of Guise and Prince of Condé.

Soe the realme was divided into two factiones (the more dangerous, because they wer but two), inflamed by ambitione and hate, two mightie ministeres to all mischeife. The Duke of Guise was heade of the one factione; Lewes of Burbone, Prince of Condee, of the other. The Duke was the more cunning and pliable, the Prince the more firme and sincere; he full of devises, this of distrustes; both open in words, both in ther intentiones dissembled, or at least close: sometymes not speaking what they would doe, at other tymes not doing what they did speake. The Duke pretended the honor and safety of the King; the Prince the good and surety of the state. But, assuredly in such actiones as thes, howsoever the pretenses are both publicke and fayre, the enterprisers are commonly pushed on with private and ambitious endes.

The Duke of Guise had got the personne of the yong King into his possessione, which gave a greate reputatione to his side, and with him, alsoe, the Queene mother did joyne, and armed him with her authority and strength; he had alsoe, generally, the clergie to friend, and all the principall officeres of the realme. The Princes of the bloud, finding both the King and the Estate of the realme in the handes of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinall his brother, both strangeres, of whom the Cardinall had the goverment of the treasure, and the Duke the command of warr; and that, in the affayres of the state, they had but the leavings of thes two Lorraines; wer supported with the fury of injured myndes, and cheifly followed by the mutinous multitude, whoe, as they are apt to engage themselves into dangeres, so are they unable to susteyne them, when they are present, partly through disorders and partly through ignorance in thos affayres. Hereuppon a wise man might very well have commended the last, and yet made choyse to follow the first.

A.D. 1561.

Authority of the Guises.

The other party appeal to the people.

And, as factions do commonlie growe to insurrections, either for desire of reveng, or fear of harme, so, from these divisions, upon particular either fears or desires, an universall confusion did proceed, wherin the parties on both sides were carried further then their first counsaills did designe; civill discords being of condition to increase allwaies with occasions. The Duke, confident in his strength, determined utterlie to extinguish the contrarie faction, and, the more to hold the clergie to friend, he determined also to expell the Protestant religion out of France. In which purpose, he shewed himself so resolute, that he that should offer advise to the contrarie, much lesse [than] that he would grant him audience, he would not forbear to hold an hard opinion of him. On the other side, the Princes of the bloud purposed to chase the two Lorrains from the government of the realme; who, by giving the King guards upon guards, endevoured

The Duke seeks to extirpate Protestantism out of France.

A.D. 1561. nothing, they sayd, but to enterteine him in distrust of his subjects, and his subjects in fear and hatred of him; but they had no means to support themselves, but by favouring those of the reformed religion, which sinew, if it were cutt from them, they knew they could not possiblie stand. And thus both parties thought, with the mantell of religion, to overshadow the quarrell of state; and, by both togither, so to blind the world that no man should espie their private ambition; but these publick considerations had so manie particular passions that the adventure must needs be fatall to the undertakers.

The Protestants favoured by the other party.

Edicts against the Protestants,

And, first, the Duke caused divers edicts to be published against the Protestants, and great rewards were promised to such as would discover their assemblies: hereupon manie townes stuffed their prisons; all devices, all violence, was emploied for their ruine. The Princes, on the other side, devised a plott suddainlie to surprize the Duke and the Cardinall, and appointed both guids and forces for the execution thereof; but they, having discovered the attempt, did not onelie discover the present danger, but make themselves more secure against the like, both by guarding themselves and by regarding ther enemies. Hereuppon bloudie executions did ensue at Amboise: some were beheaded, some were hanged, some were tied to poles, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15, in a companie, and soe drowned. And, albeit, here was more question of state then of religion, yet were all executed by the name of rebellious Lutherans; and, from this time, religion was the onelie crime. For this cause of religion, the streets in Valence did flowe with bloud, houses were sacked, and the people intreated as in a towne taken by assault. Mortlimart ranne the verie like fortune. In many other places, besides executions under forme of justice, the sword ranged at large, swayed by hands both tumultuous and fierce.

and persecution.

Death of Francis II.

In the middest of these stormye commixtions, Frances the

Second ended his life, and Charles the Ninth, his brother, succeeded, being not above 11 years of age, by which change the state of France did fall from a fever to a frenzie; the factions increased both in furie and strength; and, as in all warrs wher discipline is at large, these insolencies are infinit, so in these licentious tumults all places were defiled with fire, rapine, and bloud: the libertie of warre making all things lawfull to the furie of the strongest. Among the gentlemen, not a disunion onelie, not onelie a division both in minds and in armes, but a cruell throte-cutting, a most immortall and mercilesse butcherie, did arise; the poor people stood at the curtesie and pleasure of the men-at-armes, their lives and goods exposed to perpetuall pillage.

A.D. 1561. who is succeeded by Charles IX.

Cruelties practised during the Civil War.

And nowe againe the religion of the Protestants by publick edict was banished the realme; but they, confident both in their strength and in their cause, did more openlie both practise and professe the same; from hence sprang divers mutinies [at] Beavois, Amiens, Pontois, Paris, St. Marceau, St. Medard, and else wher. Hence followed the massacre at Vassie, the principall firebrand of the civill warre which did ensue, for this did presentlie putt all the Protestants in alarme.

Massacre of the Protestants.

Hereuppon either faction did assure itself by surprize of diverse places, not without effusion of bloud, spoiling and ruinating of churches, and such other insolencies as do commonlie followe a licentious warre. In all places, extreme violence was used against the Protestants; who, on the other side, revenged themselves upon images, churches, and religious houses. The Protestants did beat downe the images of saints, but they themselves were beaten downe by the Catholicks.

Their manner of revenge.

Then the Duke of Guise took the field with 12,000 foot and 3000 horse. The Prince of Conde did the like with like strength and better discipline. The Prince had a faire opportunitie to have buckled in fight; he desired it above all men; Duke Andelot, and

The Duke of Guise and the Prince of Condé take the field.

A.D. 1562.

The Prince loses the advantage by delay.

Boucart, above all men, urged it, but he was abused with vain hope of accord, untill the Duke's armye was much increased, both with French forces and other aides from diverse forreyn countries. For, besides his partie in France, he drew many soldiers out of Germanie, having the King's purse at pleasure and command. He was allso supported by the King of Spaine, who had declared himself tutor and protector of the realme of France and of the King's affairs; who, besides many supplies that he sent out of Italie and Spaine, advised allso to plant the Spanish Inquisition in France. The Privie Councell gave way, the Parliament was content, but the Chancellor Hospitall did oppose against it, bouldlie affirming that the free nature of the French could not possiblie endure so heavie a yoke.

Attempt to introduce the Inquisition into France.

The Prince of Condee having lost opportunie, the very life of actions, mainteined his armye for a time with commendable discipline; but, being short for pay, the taking of Baugencie by assault opened a wide way to all disorder. The Prince was forced to endure that with patience which he had no power to restreine; and so, reteining forces enough to ammuse their enemies and to attend upon them at everie start, he sent home troupes to Lions, Genlis, and Burges; into Poitou, Xaintonge, Angoulmois, and Normandie, wher they wanne possession of the most principall townes of import. Duke Andelot he sent to hasten the succors out of Germanie; he sent Briguemant into England to deal with the Queen for some furnishment of men, but especiallie of monie, the very sinewes and hartstrings of warre.

The Prince is obliged to send home his troops.

He sends also a messenger to England requesting assistance.

And here we will leave the French, in the fierie heat of their furie, bathing their countrie with the bloud and teares of her owne children, and will accompanie Briguemant in his voiage into England, who, travailing with hast answerable to the distresse, and to his charge, in short time arrived in England and presented his suit presentlie to the Queen; recommending to her

the dangers of the Princes, the manifold miseries of the Protestants in France, and, with manie humilities, intreated her assistance and aid, and that under all the reasons and grounds which, in consideration of enterprises, meritt chiefest place. A.D. 1562.

But these discourses were in vaine; for the Queen, being of great judgment, to give both hopes and fears their due estimation, held all these regards either so uncertaine or of so slender moment, or else so overbalanced with contrarie respects, as they were not worthie to exercise her thoughts with consideration of them. Reasons which weighed with Elizabeth.

For, on the other side, she weighed, first, the danger of the French King, being whollie possessed both in person and judgment by the Duke of Guise, who disposed offices at his pleasure, and purchased either servants or friends in all places both of justice and command; who had byn heard to give forth that the crowne of France belonged to the house of Lorraine, as descended from the lyne of Charlemaine, from which Hugh Capett (from whom the French King drew his discent) did manifestlie usurpe it; who, likewise, had been heard to give forth that France was made to full of people, and that he would take such order that victuaills should be better cheap. Danger of the French King.

Further, the Princes of the bloud and others of the nobility of France who principallie had sollicited her aide, endured manie both indignities and despights. For, besides that they were excluded both from authoritie and advice in government of the state, some were ruined, manie were hardlie plunged,* all were threatned, all attempted. Situation of the Princes of the Blood.

But, chieflie, she was moved at the calamitie of the common people, and likewise at the cause of their calamitie; for all passages and parts of the realme were besett with armed men, by whom rich townes were spoiled, villages and fields were harrassed; much unarmed people were butchered and abused, and doubtfull it was whether the rage bare more rule either of covetousnesse to spoile, or of crueltie Cruelties practised upon the people.

* So in MS.

A.D. 1562. to kill, or of lust to defile. The massacres in diverse parts of the realme, from the beginning of March to * the end of August this present year, was esteemed to extend to the destruction of one hundred thowsand persons, most of them quiett, harmlesse hearts, whose highest ambition was to mainteine themselves upright in goodnes; who, by the law of humanitie, the naturall league of humane societie which susteineth the life and condition of man, should not onelie be pittied but with all help defended.

Number of persons massacred from March to August.

The onelie cause of these cruelties was given forth to be for overthrow of the Protestant religion in France, wherof a list had byn given to the Queen of England, conteining 2,150 churches, all which the Duke of Guise did professe that he intended utterlie to abolish. But it is a weake suretie which is grounded upon the bloud of innocents; for, albeitt this inhumane crueltie brought astonishment to some, yet it estranged the affections of manie, both from the contrivers therof and from the cause for which it was used, and doubtlesse drew on a secret revenge. Assuredlie the religion which they terme "reformed" never sprang, spredd, thrived, and flourished better, in all parts of Europe, then when it was most grevouslie oppressed.

Number of Protestant Churches in France.

Nowe, in regard of her owne person and state, the Queen considered that, if the Duke of Guise should prevaile, these fires of France both easilie might, and readilie would, cast dangerous sparkes over the ocean into England, as well for vicinitie both of the place and the cause, as for the respect of those who guided the enterprise; for these were knowen to be the same men who, partlie by ielousie and partlie by ambition (two mightie motives to carrie on disordered designes), had formerlie bent their best endevors against her, as well in devising and divulging pretenses of title to empeach her right to the crowne of England, as by enterprising a manifest invasion of her by the way of Scotland. That this enmitie was neither ended nor abated, but they daily

Enmity between the house of Guise and Elizabeth.

* "And," in MS.

gave fresh cause of suspition and distrust, partlie for that they had generallie declared their intention to be, that, after their subversion of religion in France, they would do the like against all persons and states abroad, and partlie by many particular arguments of iniustice, both against her self and against manie of her subjects, which did fairelie warne her, first, to suspect, then to discerne, and, lastly, to prevent intended mischief; for her owne messengers had byn dispoiled of packetts of letters sent unto her from her Embassadors, which fact was passed over without either punishment or reproof. Many merchants of London, Exeter, Fallmouth, and of other townes in the west parts of England, being in diverse ports of Brittaine, onelie for the trade of merchandise, were arrested; their goods and merchandise to a great value seyzed, their bodies imprisoned, and some, that made resistance, slaine; and yet were they charged with nothing, but onelie furiouslie called "Hugonotts," a word which plainlie declareth both whence the commandement came, and what was further intended when time should serve,* especiallie seing this was not done in a loose unbridled furie, but by publick officers which were supported by the greatest governors of those countries; yea, no English were spared that could be taken in France; no English that were taken could, without great hazard, escape; all which newe iniuries could not but renewe both the memorie and grief of former offences. As for the contrarie reasons, they were both future and contingent, in which cause it is allwaies necessaric to referre manie things to the arbitrement of adventure, otherwise whosoever will seek in any great action to avoid all inconveniences which may possiblie happen, to answer all objections which may probablie be made, must sit still and do nothing.

A. D. 1562.

Letters of the English Ambassadors intercepted.

English merchants,

and all English subjects in France arrested.

* The derivation of the title, *Huguenot*, is well known to be a subject of dispute. It is evident from the passage in the text that Hayward considered it had reference to the support given by the Protestants to the descendants of Hugh, or Hugo, Capet, in preference to the family of the Guises. Vide *ante*, p. 97.

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It concerneth a Prince not onelie to repell dangers when they fall, but, much more, to prevent them, before either they growe to strength or opportunitie to make easie their enterprise.

The Queen sends Sir Henry Sidney to mediate on behalf of the Protestants, without success.

Upon these reasons the Queen, betweene lothnesse and necessitie, resolved to ioyne to the Princes and Protestant faction in France; but, first, she sent over Sir Henrie Sidney, Lord President of Wales, by a quiet course to mediate those troubles to a pacification, but he could do no good; after this, she sent a more solemne and honourable embassage of certaine persons, both of experience and indifferencie, of her Privie Counsaill, but nothing could be effected; no answer could be had from the young King, but by direction and appointment of the Queen, his mother, and the Duke of Guise; and yet this, happilie, did not proceed from hate of peace, but rather for that no Prince will easilie endure that another Prince should mediate betweene his subiects and him; becaus, in that case, he may be assured that his subjects will afterwards cleav more close to that Prince then himself. Hereupon she furnished the Princes with diverse summs of monie to wage soldiers; she permitted, also, many of the English to go to their aid, who passed the seas dailye in small companies unto them, who, being voluntarie adventurers, were the more resolute, and apt to serve as ensamplea and incouragers of others. And it is very like, that, upon some surmise or fear of these aids, that diverse English had byn hardlie entreated in France by the contrarie faction; who, not onelie as hating them, used all means to oppresse them, but, as fearing harme from them, endeavoured to harme them first.

She advances them money, and permits English volunteers to join them.

September. The Earl of Warwick determined to be sent to Newhaven with 6000 men.

Lastlie, after long treatie, or rather intreatie, of Monsieur de Vidam, Captaine of Newhaven, she sent, in the moneth of September, 6000 soldiers of good assurance and choise, under the command of Ambrose Dudley, Earle of Warwick, second sonne to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; a man more noble in birth then of any other abilitie, not noted for any vice, nor for

any vertue notable, preferred to this high place of charge more by favour of them who were in favour with the Queen, then either upon experience or expectation of his owne worth. So, upon the seventeenth of October, they loosed from the haven of Portesmouth, and committed themselves to the favour of the sea, full of proud confidence and ioy, as well upon their owne valour as upon faire and formall assurances of the French; but this was happilie preiudiciall unto them, by reducing them to negligence and omission in making provisions out of England. For, of this armie (in regard of the enterprise for France) it might well haue byn said, as Tigranes said of the armie of Lucullus, that they were to manie for Embassadors and to fewe for fighters. As these forces were insufficient and unperfect to lead their hopes on to their desired end, so supplies came afterwards, both later and in lesser nombers, then were expedient for the exploit.

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October 17th. They set saill from Portsmouth.

When they had sailed all that afternoon and that night following, and were in the morning within twentie myles of Newhaven, the wind turned so suddainlie as it caused them to returne, and, within as short a time as they had byn under saile, drave them back to the downes upon the coast of Kent; here they cast anchor, and the Earle of Warwick was sett on shoar at Sandon Castle, and, from thence, passed directlie towards Dover, wher he remained untill the twenty-third of October; then they loosed againe and committed to the sea, but the wind being both contrarie and stiffe, after they had lyen all that night and the day following wrestling with the winds, tumbling and beating upon the seas, they returned back to the haven of Dover. This crossing of the winds, this troublesome and hard passage, was interpreted by some to portend no prosperous event to the iourney. Upon the twenty-seventh of October they mounted upon shipbord againe, and had the wind so favourable unto them, that, upon the twenty-ninth of the same moneth, they arrived at Newhaven.

They are driven back.

October 23rd. They saill again, and are again driven back.

27th. They saill again.

29th. They land at Newhaven.

Here, the Earle was enterteined by the French with all cere-

A.D. 1562.

monies and demonstrations of joy. The towne was delivered to him to the use of the Queen, as a caution and assurance, as well for the men which she emploied, as for the monie which she expended in this action. Here fell a curteous contention between the English and manie of the French. The English protested (and so had the Queen assured before) that they intended no way to prejudice the French King's sovereigne awthoritie or the estate of the realme; diverse of the French professed, that, not onelie Newhaven, but all the townes of France, were a true inheritance to the crowne of England. But assuredly factions are no further to be trusted then they are perswaded that it is good for their good; for, notwithstanding these faire formalities of speach, manie secret surmises were framed by the French, manie fears were cast in their conceits, and those [so] contrarie that it was vaine to think that the English could in any case content them. Some supposed that this small supplie was fitt rather to nourish the warre then to end it, and that it would be a means, by prolonging the warre, to weaken both parties; wherbie the English might with more facilitie oppresse them when their strenght on both sides should be consumed. Others were of opinion, that they were to manie to be endured togither in so broken and disordered an estate, and indeed hereupon manie of them were drawen away and dispersed into garrisons, and some were sent to the armie ranging at large; so they, who might have byn assured by keeping togither, were, by seperating, made of lesse regard.

Their reception by the French.

Here I cannot but taxe the heavines of some of our English writers, who affirme that Roan and Diep were also delivered into the possession of the Queen; wheras Roan was taken from the French Protestants before the Earle of Warwick did arrive; Diep had allso byn taken from them, but it was then verie newlie recovered.

Proclamation of the Earl's commission.

The Earle, after sometime spent in devises of courtesie and mirth, caused his commission to be proclaimed in Latine, Eng-

lish, and French, by a pursivant-at-armes. This done, he went to the church, and there the Knight-Marshall gave him his oath. Then were sworne the same Knight-Marshall, the Comptroller, the Knight-Porter, the Master of the Ordinance, and diverse others in place either of command or charge in that service. A.D. 1562.

About this time 50 light horsmen, Scotts, came to him to Newhaven from Diep. Upon the second of November he rode out of Newhaven to view the countrie, followed by all the horsmen, English and Scotts, and a thousand foot. The Scotts skirmished with them of Mondevill, and brought away a bootie of 300 sheep, but the next day they were restored againe, by commandement of the Earle. Some of the English landed so farre as Harflew, and skirmished with them of the garrison; but this seemed a training of soldiers rather then a skirmish, becaus no hurt was received of either part. In the meantime, fowre barkes of Britanie were taken and brought into the haven, charged with 200 tunns of Gascoine wine, which was made good reprisall, as well in regard of the English merchants' goods which before had byn arrested in France, as allso for that they were bound toward the enemie. November 2nd. A skirmish at Mondeville. Four ships laden with wine captured.

A fewe daies running between, the Rhingrave, who was come out of Germanie to aide the Duke of Guise, and the Vice-Admirall's sonne of France, shewed themselves upon the hills, followed by Allmanes and some French to the number of 2000 foot and 500 horse, lustie bodies and bravely armed, but without either skill in weapon or art in array. Hereupon a great alarme was raised within the towne; but the Rhingrave sent a trumpetter with a message to the Earle, that, if he would give assurance upon his honor and faith, he would come in friendlie manner to see and to salute him. The Earle sent a messenger and a trumpetter to the Rhingrave, who declared unto him, that the Earl was then comming towards him, wher his owne forces should be his owne Arrival of the Rhingrave in aid of the Duke of Guise.

A.D. 1562.

assurance; and that he desired no better securitie for his safe returne then the promise which he made to himself of his honor and vertue. So the Earle rode forth of the towne with a fewe gentlemen in his traine, and the Rhingrave advanced forward with the like attendance to meet him; here they embraced and communed verie kindlie and pleasantlie togither, manifesting therbye to all that were present, that their contention in armes was more for honour (the true whetstone of valour) then it was for hate. The Rhinegrave said to the Earl, that he was come to be his neighbour; the Earle returned answer, that he should be no nearer neighbour to him then to his owne danger and disquiet. They departed with manie complements of courtesie, wishing one to the other all their owne wishes, save those that might be hurtfull to other men. Counte Mongomerie and Monsieur Beauvois were allso present, and had some speach with the Rhinegrave; but they could not abstaine from reprochfull words against the Duke of Guise, and others of his faction, traducing them as men stubbornlie stout and striving against all reason, either to have their wills or to shew their awthoritie. Doubtlesse the neerer men are in countrie, or in bloud, or in other respects, the more hott is their hate, if the flame break forth.

Interview between the Rhingrave and the Earl of Warwick.

The same afternoon the Rhingrave harrassed all the countrie, and drove awaie such cattaill as he could finde; at the last he came to the Church of Hautevill, wher an hundred and fifty soldiers of Mongommeries band did lye in garrison. The skirmish was offered by the one partie and received by the other, but Mongomeries forces were enforced in the end to abandon the place and retire to Newhaven; notwithstanding, the day following they returned againe, took the church, and held it as before.

A skirmish at Hautevile.

Nowe, the French of the other faction, when they saw the English (their old unwellcome guests) thus to build their nest in France, beganne to look one upon another, as finding an error, but

Discontentation of the Guises at the land.

unprovided of a present remedie. Their witts were wavering, their courage irresolute, their fears generall, their hopes doubtfull, in their wills no agreement, their conjectures and judgments full of varieties; no man was constant in his owne designes, none could aime at the ends of others; they were afraid to pursue and loth to leave; they could have byn content they had not begun, but knew not howe to make an end, finding it more easie to tye knotts then to loose them, yet somewhat they must do, least they should be undone. The Queen mother preferring to her remembrance, how much it would savour of indiscretion, to consider indignities so farre,—so farre to have small rule over her self, as not to preferre the safetie of her estate before the satisfieng of her will, dealt, under hand, with Monsieur Beauvois, and promised him 50,000 crownes, with a collar of the order, and a companie of men-at-armes enterteined, in case he would yield up the towne of Newhaven; but, whether he had no minde to repose assurance in her word (as nothing more naturallie breedeth suspition then matters of state), or whether he had no power to effect that which she affected, she prevailed as litle by this faire sollicitation as the Rhinegrave did before by presenting himself to the towne in armes. When this would not succeed, she attempted to induce the Queen of England to withdrawe her forces out of France; but she had given her word, and did think her self greater in being subiect to that, then in the greatnes of her estate.

A.D. 1562. ing of the English.

Attempts to dislodge them from Newhaven.

In the mean time, between the French of Newhaven and the English soldiers (as litle time as they had byn together) much contention did arise, manie grievances did growe; whereof complaint was made from both sides to the Earle of Warwick. Hereupon a proclamation was made to appease this disagreement, and to remedie the grievance from whence it was occasioned; allso to enjoyne the soldiers to be diligent in frequenting the church, to

Contention between the inhabitants of Newhaven and the English.

A.D. 1562. represse swearing, drinking, gaming, and other dissolute disorders, which commonlie follow those that follow the warrs.

November 12th. A skirmish at Gravile. Upon the twelfth of November, three bands of Frenchmen, conteining about 600 foot, marched out of Newhaven towards Harflew to seak adventure, committing the successe to fortune and industrie; these were encountred by the Allmanes and French of the garrison of Hareflewe, and by them so livelie charged that they were driven to take a village called Gravill. Here, making courage of necessitie, they comforted and counsailed one another to labour for the best, and yet to endure whatsoeuer should befall; so, supported more by valour then by strenght, they susteined the skirmish the space of two houres, untill the Earl, understanding the danger, sent a thowsand foot and all the horsmen, English and Scotts, to their reskewe, to whom Monsieur Beauvois, with certaine French horsmen, did allso adioyne. They of Harflewe espieng these succors, sent likewise a large supplie of Allmanes, both horse and foot, to reliev their partie; and now the fight entred into a new fitt of heat; and was stoutelie maintained on both sides for the space of three houres; at the last, the English carried the honour of the day, as well for that they beat their enemies out of the field, and chased them to the verie gates of the towne (notwithstanding the artillerie plaied freahlie from the walls and bullwarks of the towne), as also for that they lost fewer of their companie in the fight: of the English, eight men were slaine and one hurt; of the Allmanes, one captaine and twenty soldiers were left dead upon the place: another captaine and manie soldiers were dangerouslie hurt. The Scotts did verie valiantlie acquitt themselves; Monsieur Beauvois, also, did fight bravelie in the head of his troupes, to the excellent example and incouragement of his soldiers.

Capture of ships laden with wine. A fewe daies following, two French shippa, fraughted with wine, were taken by the English and brought to Newhaven.

Thus, while great matters were acted abroad, nothing of any moment either happened or was observed at home; onelie certaine prodigies are reported to have befallen this year, which men do commonlie regard in prosperitie to litle, and in adversitie to much. In March, a mare brought forth a foal with one bodie and two heads: also a sowe farrowed a pigge having hands and fingers like a man child. In Aprill, a sowe farrowed a pigge with two bodies, eight leggs, and but one head. Many calves and lambes were monstrous, having collars of skinne growing about their necks, like the double ruffes that then were in use. In May, a man child was borne in Chichester, the head, armes, and leggs like an anatomye, without any flesh; the brest and bellye monstruous bigge; a long string hanging from the navell; about the neck grewe a collar of flesh and skinne, pleighted and foulded like a double ruffe, and rising up unto the eares, as if nature would upbraide our pride in artificiall braverie, by producing monsters in the same attires.

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Prodigies in England during this year.



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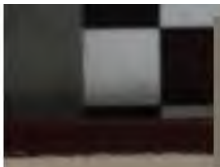
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